THE CULTURE OF FOOTBALL: VIOLENCE, RACISM AND BRITISH SOCIETY, 1968-98.

by

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LIST OF ARCHIVAL ABBREVIATIONS

Public Record Office, National Archives, Kew, London, England…………………...PRO

Runnymede Collection, Runnymede Trust, Middlesex, England……………………...RT

British Library, Main Branch, King's Cross, London, England……………………….BL

ABSTRACT

Britain enjoys a rich historical tradition of popular protest and collective action. Due to their public and publicized nature, sporting events have been recognized increasingly as venues in which broader cultural and political meanings are enacted and debated in the postwar period. This project examines how social anxieties about immigration, unemployment, and government repression were represented and contested through violence and eventually racist aggression at football matches. From 1968 to the mid-1970s, violence among fans and with police became expected on a weekly basis within and outside British football stadiums as new forms of spectator allegiance and sports consumption emerged. British football became a contested cultural and institutional site of racisms, violence, masculinities, and national mythologies. Rather than examining football *per se*, the principal aim of this project is to investigate how this distinct cultural milieu became a site for the British government to enact violence against working-class citizens by manipulating moral anxieties, physical environments, police tactics, and legal prosecution. Whereas many British sociologists have focused on the motivation of crowd behavior and the group dynamics among supporter gangs, this paper looks at the response of the state, local police authorities, and the Home Office and Department of Environment. Politicians concerned with British sport helped to create oppositional, aggressive and disciplinary environments that promoted mutually reciprocating violent environments. Beginning in the late 1970s, spectators not only participated in violence, but also racial abuse, in stadium environments. Several fans

protested the emergence of successful black footballers, who came to represent conflicts about immigration, job and housing competition, and race riots in postwar Britain. The environment became a cultural location that several groups recognized as a platform for the contestation and manipulation of racial and class conflict: it garnered activism from the neo-fascist National Front, spawned several anti-racist organizations, captured the attention of the Home Office responsible for public order, and garnered extensive national press coverage. Consequently, the football environment not only mirrored social and political hostilities, but produced them as well.

Introduction- Sport, Politics and History in Postwar Britain

Due to their public and publicized nature, sporting events have been recognized increasingly as venues in which broader social struggles have been reproduced and redefined.[1] Examining violence and racism in British football shows that from the late 1960s social anxieties about race politics, class relations, and state repression were represented and contested through violence and racist aggression at football matches. Class violence and racial abuse in football not only reflected broader cultural struggles and fractured social relationships in postwar Britain, but also produced new social anxieties and political questions. The state and leading political authorities responded to the presence of violence and racisms in one of the nation's central cultural institutions by re-examining policing and disciplinary policies for working-class citizens.

Rather than examining football *per se*, my principal aim is to investigate how this distinct cultural milieu became a site for the reproduction and performance of racial and class tensions, masculinity, and racist violence. The environment of British football serves as an aperture through which to reassess the fundamental social and cultural processes within post-1945 British society, as well as the way politicians, lawmakers, and grassroots organizations approached them. Evidence will show that social conflict,

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[1] For examples of recent scholarship see Patrick McDevitt, *'May the Best Man Win': Sport, Masculinity and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935* (New York: Palgrave, 2004): Neal Garnham, "Patronage, Politics and Modernization of Leisure in Northern England: The Case of Alnwick's Shrove Tuesday Football Match," *English Historical Review* 117:474 (2002), 1228-46; J.A. Mangan, ed. *Making European Masculinities: Sport, Europe, Gender* (Portland, Frank Cass, 2000) and John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986).

allegedly eliminated by the postwar social democratic compromise, re-emerged in cultural contests over physical space and policing in football stadia. Class discourses and practices resurfaced in football conflicts as global economic crises and retrenchment of social welfare apparently betrayed postwar social democratic promises. My research in recently released government documents shows that politicians and police authorities consistently met violence with their own repressive measures, escalating conflict and ignoring its relationship to larger social fissures. State authorities developed violent environments and draconian policing measures intended to discourage partisan activities by working-class youth and sanitize a growing leisure industry. Doing so involved the state, the press, football club administrations, and fans in a battle of representation over football's meanings, jeopardizing the British national mythology of gentlemanly conduct and multicultural harmony.

Overt social discord from the 1970s onward coincided with the emergence of prominent black footballers, who became subject to racial abuse by spectators and discrimination within football clubs. From the late 1980s, racism against black players prompted anti-racist measures continuous with those used previously against football violence, again exacerbating rather than remedying the situation. Throughout the period, British football became a cultural location that several groups recognized as a venue for the contestation and manipulation of racial and class conflict: it captured the attention of the Home Office and high-ranking government officials, attracted neo-fascist nationalist parties, spawned several grassroots anti-racist organizations, and garnered extensive national and international press coverage. In sum, the football milieu not only reflected

social tensions occurring on local and national levels, but produced its own political conflicts, prompting widespread debates about social conflict, violence, and racisms in postwar British society.

Historiography: Examining State Violence and Football Conflict

This project constitutes a divergence from existing approaches to state violence and football fan partisanship by sociologists, anthropologists, and historians of postwar violence. Studies of state violence in the postwar era have concentrated on Britain's foreign interactions or decolonization. Caroline Elkins' recent study of the state's brutal oppression of the Mau Mau in Kenya provided one example of the state's willingness to engage in violence against its own subjects.[2] Analyses of the state's response to violence among its citizens, especially racial violence and the generation of moral panics, has received some analytical attention as well, concluding that the media and the state produced discourses which perpetuated social conflict on all levels.[3] This work builds on existing studies of moral anxiety and state violence by analyzing the reciprocating violent formations within British football. Evidence will demonstrate that British governments

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[2] Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005).

[3] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and the Rockers* (London: MacGibbon and Lee, 1972); Stuart Hall, et.al. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (London: Macmillan, 1978); Benjamin Bowling, "The Emergence of Violent Racism as a Public Issue in Britain, 1945-81," in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1993); Rob Witte, *Racist Violence and the State* (New York: Longman, 1996).

and local police responded to expressions of social unrest by creating violent environments, instituting draconian police measures, and extending sentencing measures. Rather than examining the social fractures which conditioned the emergence of violence in football, these agents demonized young working-class men and enacted violence against their own citizens, effectively renewing class conflicts through regulatory aggression. This episode in state violence will reveal where social democratic resolutions to conflict between working-class citizens and government failed and how state authorities violated their purported assurances to protect and provide for working-class British citizens.

Asking questions about football violence builds on but also departs from over two decades of study into the origins of social violence within this environment. Commentators on football disorder have addressed the phenomenon of violence and aggression from different perspectives and through the adoption of diverse theoretical approaches in what has become a massive body of literature.[4] Early researchers attempted to determine the causes of spectators' violence in effort to minimize its incidence, and in certain cases, contributed to government policy discussions about the phenomenon. Sociologists used surveys, interviews with fans, and newspaper reports to detail the long history of sports violence and its prevalence among 'rough' working-class

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[4] The body of literature by sociologists and anthropologists is expansive, and only the work on issues related to this project can be reviewed in this introduction. For a more complete review of the literature, see Steve Frosdick and Peter Marsh, *Football Hooliganism* (Portland: Willan, 2005).

men resisting the 'civilizing' imperative.[5] This 'figurational' approach addressed outbursts as a 'quest for excitement' within the constraining civilizing processes of modern society.[6] Social psychologists perceived football violence as a psychological reaction to boredom and a need to invigorate social relationships through the search for 'felt arousal' through violent interaction.[7] Sports anthropologists have entered the academic debate on violence and identity through participant observation.[8] Their ethnographies showed that specificities of cultural identity formation and sociological interaction among groups encouraged violence as an expression of social cohesion and community loyalty.[9] These researchers have effectively shown how football violence, because of its deep associations with group identity, partisan devotion, and resistance to authority, cannot be easily eradicated.

This dissertation represents a departure from previous studies of football violence in three ways. First, rather than further interrogating the origins of fan subjectivities or the group dynamics of social violence, this study looks at the ways in which the British

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[5] John Williams, Eric Dunning and Patrick Murphy, *Hooligans Abroad: The Behaviour and Control of English Fans in Continental Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1984); Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy and John Williams, *The Roots of Football Hooliganism: An Historical and Sociological Study* (New York: Routledge, 1988); Patrick Murphy, John Williams and Eric Dunning, *Football on Trial: Spectator Violence and Development in the Football World* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

[6] See the collected essays in Eric Dunning and Norbert Elias, *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (New York: Blackwell, 1986).

[7] John H. Kerr, *Understanding Football Hooliganism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994).

[8] For the earliest anthropological work on football violence see Peter Marsh, *Aggro: The Illusion of Violence* (London: Dent, 1978).

[9] See Gary Armstrong and Richard Harris, "Football Hooligans: Theory and Evidence," *Sociological Review* 39:3 (1991), 427-58; Gary Armstrong, *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score* (New York: Berg, 1998); Giulianotti, *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).

state contributed to cycles of violence through directing draconian policies against football spectators. Through a variety of institutional, legal, and architectural means government and police authorities attempted a total policy of containment. Limiting spectators' mobility and increasing police powers reflected politicians' willingness to use violence against its working-class citizens. The first part of this study analyzes how the state constructed normative discourses of class and gender which labeled working-class football spectators as deviant, brutish, belligerent and unmanly, and thus legitimated violent actions against them throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In the second part of the project I engage government and police records to reveal the critical role government ministers played in coordinating national police policies, architectural innovations and sentencing procedures for football spectators. While criminologists and sociologists have looked at the content of some official reports, none have analyzed their political construction or their practical application and its outcomes.[10] My evidence demonstrates that Labour and Conservative politicians attempted to address larger, politically volatile social anxieties about law and order through consistency and efficiency in implementing policies against football spectators.

Second, analyzing violent interactions between the state, police, and football spectators requires contextualizing and historicizing the emergence of football violence within contemporaneous social and economic conditions of British society. Early

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[10] Steve Greenfield and Guy Osborn, "When the Writ Hits the Fan: Panic Law and Football Fandom," in Adam Brown, ed., *Fanatics: Power, Identity and Fandom in Football* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Jerry M. Lewis and AnneMarie Scarisbrick-Hauser, "An Analysis of Football Crowd Safety Reports Using the McPhail Categories," in Richard Giulianotti, Norman Bonney and Mike Hepworth eds., *Football, Violence and Social Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

Marxist interpretations attempted to explain spectators' violence through the lens of class and masculinity. Ian Taylor explained early manifestations of violence as a display of discontent among working-class men attempting to restore democratic control over a commercializing industry.[11] His later research also suggested that football disorder acted as release for working-class citizens alienated by the socioeconomic and political dispossession experienced under Conservative regimes in the early 1980s.[12] John Clarke and Stuart Hall also suggested that violent subcultures in football reflected the need to reclaim community within fractured class relationships through activities such as group violence.[13] More recently, these ideas have been complemented by Alessandro Portelli, who attributed football violence, at least in part, to the development of a 'culture of poverty', brought on by a lack of participation in middle-class social institutions, an internalized sense of social marginalization, and a generalized feeling of powerlessness and inferiority, especially in relation to the affluence of middle-class lives.[14]

This project builds on these interpretations by providing concrete documentary evidence of the relationship between contemporary political and cultural anxieties and the

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[11] Ian Taylor, "Soccer Consciousness and Soccer Hooliganism," in Stanley Cohen ed., *Images of Deviance* (New York: Penguin, 1971).

[12] Ian Taylor, "On the Sports Violence Question: Soccer Hooliganism Revisited," in Jennifer Hargreaves ed., *Sport, Culture and Ideology* (New York: Routledge, 1982).

[13] See John Clarke, "Football and Working Class Fans: Tradition and Change," in Roger Ingham ed., *Football Hooliganism: The Wider Context* (London: Inter-Action Imprint, 1978); Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson eds., *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1976).

[14] Alessandro Portelli, "The Rich and the Poor in the Culture of Football," in Steve Redhead, *The Passion and the Fashion: Football Fandom in the New Europe* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1993).

football setting.[15] Rather than imagining a relationship between the interior football world and the exterior social and cultural context in which football acted as a microcosm of society, reflecting the problems and possibilities of the British nation, this work illuminates how meanings and cultural productions embodied in football also had effects on political decisions and social anxieties. Instead of treating events in football only as symptoms of broader social and cultural processes, it approaches the relevant historical actors as active agents shaping discourses about violence and racism. Surely, to some degree, debates within British football reflected broader social conversations about postcoloniality, nationhood, and migration in British society. However, the representations of race, class and gender contested within football did not simply mirror extant meanings and discussions. The political and academic debates over football violence, and later football racism, became deeply enmeshed in actual political contests and "the logics of particular political spaces."[16] That is, discussions of the contemporary meanings of racism and anti-racism, violence and anti-violence, and the vulnerability and deterioration of Britain's youth culture, contributed to and produced new political and social tensions as much as they reflected them. The bulk of the first part of this book

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[15] In many ways, this work responds to Steve Redhead's call for renewed studies of the historical background to football violence, rather than a narrow focus on the immediate and local policy concerns. See Steve Redhead, "Some Reflections on Discourses on Football Hooliganism," *Sociological Review* 39:3 (1991), 479-486. Redhead's more recent work focuses on the links between popular culture, subcultural music movements and the postmodern nature of fan cultures and spectator violence. See *Post-Fandom and the Millennial Blues: The Transformation of Soccer Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[16] I borrow the language to discuss this conceptual conundrum from Eric D. Weitz, who explained the reflexive and productive nature of political debates over gender in European communism. See Eric D. Weitz, "The Heroic Man and the Ever-Changing Woman: Gender and Politics in European Communism, 1917-1950," in Laura L. Frader and Sonya O. Rose, eds., *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

explores the ways in which political authorities took notice of football's popularity in the postwar period and aimed to sanitize the sport an activity representative of the purported genteel character of the nation itself.

Furthermore, in many of the documents and voices examined here, historical actors referenced wider conflicts within British society when explaining their participation in violence, racial abuse, and anti-racist movements. How these actors conceptualized this sociopolitical context, and the relationship between British society and events in football, revealed that they often understood problems in football to represent larger social and cultural patterns. These historical actors thought themselves to be participating in the manipulation of the British social landscape through their involvement in football. Spectators often attributed their actions to the failures of successive postwar administrations and the conflicts evident in late capitalist and postcolonial societies: economic depression, scarce housing and employment, race riots, immigration and social dislocation. Such articulations made football a particularly vivid lens through which to view difficulties of working and living in Britain since the late 1960s.

Third, this study attempts to show how the state contributed to conditions which made catastrophic football disasters probable through the extension of political control over private leisure and the sporting industry. Much of the academic attention paid to football violence has been catalyzed by the intermittent occasion of large-scale disasters

in football stadiums producing numerous fatalities.[17] Disasters in Glasgow in 1971, in Heysel in 1985, and in Hillsborough in 1989 resulted in fatalities due to crushing, panic and asphyxiation in tightly packed spaces. Resultant public concerns about football violence, stadium management, and the viability of the football industry in England forced the government to respond to each disaster with a full inquiry, a political tool aiming to ease fears and provide practical solutions.[18] Scholars have blamed poor stadium management, deficient design, and the lack of government responsibility for working-class well-being for these horrific outcomes.[19] Chapters Three and Four will show that each disaster produced new governmental and police motivation to refine policing and management techniques and create new security networks. Therefore, each incident catalyzed further discipline in the repetitive cycle of stricter restrictions on the activities and bodies of working-class spectators, paradoxically perpetuating the very physical environments producing such tragedies. In fact, the term 'disaster' proved entirely inappropriate upon close examination. As the evidence will show, government and police officials were aware of the potentially dangerous consequences of the piecemeal strategies they implemented, and yet chose to enact them. Football disasters did not materialize from nowhere, but proved to be the result of several factors—

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[17] See Appendix for timeline of football-related disasters and legislation.

[18] On the social function of government inquiries into football, see Ian Taylor, "Soccer Consciousness and Soccer Hooliganism," 161. David Canter and his research group have also discussed the problems with "legislation by crisis" in their book *Football In Its Place* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

[19] Dominic Elliot and Denis Smith, "Football Stadia Disasters in the United Kingdom: Learning from Tragedy?" *Organization and Environment* 7:3 (1993), 205-229; Ian Taylor, "English Football in the 1990s: Taking Hillsborough Seriously?" in John Williams and Stephen Wagg eds., *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1991).

including fans' violence, the construction of restrictive and aggressive environments, and the poor state of football stadiums—many of which government officials failed to resolve although they knew about them.

Analyzing Racism and Anti-Racism in the Postwar Era

In addition to contributing to studies of football and state violence, the third part of the project also contributes to scholarly debates about racism and anti-racism in postwar society. Academic investigations of racism in postwar Britain can be categorized or divided along several axes, though any attempt to do so only provides an illusory organization to a wealth of intersecting studies.[20] Early sociological investigations responded to the growing number of black migrants and the emergence of racial conflict within British cities in the 1950s and 1960s. The creators of the 'race relations' debate often conceptualized the growing number of black migrants to Britain as a problem of assimilation. Early analyses suggested that time, acclimation, and proximity would ameliorate prejudice by native white Britons, and thus postulated the

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[20] The body of literature on post-1945 racism(s) in Britain is substantial and growing. For an *entrée* into the wide range of themes, theoretical debates, and empirical studies during this period see John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain,* third edition (New York: Routledge, 2003); Cathie Lloyd and Daniele Joly, "Research in Ethnic Relations in Great Britain: State of the Art Today," in Daniele Joly, *Blacks and Britannity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001). Les Back and John Solomos, eds. *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Martin Bulmer and John Solomos, eds. *Ethnic and Racial Studies Today* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Harry Goulbourne, *Race Relations in Britain Since 1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998); Bulmer and Solomos, eds. *Racism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); John Solomos and Les Back, *Racism and Society* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996); Richard Skellington, *'Race' in Britain Today*, second edition (New York: Sage Publications, 1996).

problem of ‘race relations’ as a problem of black presence.[21] Critiques of the paradigm soon followed which pointed out its failure to recognize the multifaceted constitution of social fractures and racial oppression within British society, as well as ethnic mobilization against racial prejudice.[22] As the sociology of race and racism developed, researchers engaged in theoretical and conceptual debates about racisms in Britain and the interconnections between analyses of race and class. Such debates tested the limits of neo-Weberian and neo-Marxian interpretations of data and the meaning of the notions of ‘race’ and ‘racism’ in contemporary political contexts.[23] The work of cultural studies enthusiasts engaged the ways in which ‘race’ and ‘black’ lives became sites of political and social struggle. They recognized that the contested conceptualizations of race could be the launching point for mobilization by groups of historical actors with drastically different political goals, such as the state, minority communities, and nationalist political parties. How race and ethnicity came to be entwined in collective identities and political

[21] For example, see Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (London: Tavistock, 1967); Sheila Patterson, *Dark Strangers* (New York: Penguin, 1968); Eliot Joseph Benn Rose and Nicholas Deakin, eds., *Colour and Citizenship* (London: Institute for Race Relations, 1969); Nicholas Deakin, *Colour, Citizenship and British Society* (London: Panther, 1970). For a comprehensive yet measured critique of the development of “race relations science” see Chris Waters, “ ‘Dark Strangers’ in Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963,” *Journal of British Studies* 36:2 (April 1997), 207-238.

[22] John Rex, *Race, Colonialism and the City* (New York: Routledge, 1973); Robert Miles and Annie Phizacklea eds., *Racism and Political Action in Britain* (New York: Routledge, 1979); Ambalavaner Sivanandan, *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance* (London: Pluto, 1982).

[23] The most salient debate in sociological circles has been that between John Rex, a self-proclaimed ‘radical Weberian’ and Robert Miles. See John Rex, *Race Relations in Sociological Theory* (New York: Routledge, second edition, 1983); Robert Miles, *Racism and Migrant Labour* (New York: Routledge, 1982); Idem., *Racism* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

opposition through processes of social construction occupied groups like the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham.[24]

Like debates within sociology and cultural studies, my work seeks to decenter, destabilize and disrupt socially constructed categories while understanding their political contestation. However, it will pursue these goals while integrating concrete historical evidence of practices and activities that conditioned the language the historical actors used, and discuss how those practices and discourses changed over time. From the mid-1970s football provided a public arena for the discussion of racial issues. It is the central argument of this book that British football evolved into a contested cultural site where several social groups—including government ministers, Labour and Conservative politicians, police authorities, nationalist political parties, and grassroots anti-racist movements—sought to manipulate the British social landscape through the sport. Discourses of violence and racism developed around British football which contributed to ongoing debates about essentialized Britishness, masculinity and propriety, and racism and anti-racism. These discourses played a vital role in educating the nation about the roles of violence, racial abuse and anti-racist political action in British society. Discussions of race in football acquired their particular content as social groups constructed definitions of ‘racist’ and ‘anti-racist’ that informed subsequent discourses about race politics in Britain outside the football environment.

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[24] CCCS, *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1982); Paul Gilroy, *‘There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack’:The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); John Solomos, *Black Youth, Racism and the State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Stuart Hall, “Ethnicity: Identity and Difference,” *Radical America* 24 (1990); David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1996).

The largest body of historical literature on postwar racism has focused on immigration policy and citizenship in postwar British politics, and the government's various efforts to balance labor demands with restrictions against entry.[25] These studies of high politics and policy-making added to our understanding of how official definitions of race in government rhetoric constricted immigrant livelihoods. This project aims to show how similar processes of aversion to black migrants occurred in specific cultural locations and social dialogues outside of high politics. It will complement these studies by demonstrating how political rhetoric was transferred and distorted in specific extra-political sites, specifically British football. Ideas of race, nation and masculinity derived from high politics were expressed through violence and racial abuse at football matches. Rather than evaluate language and discourse apart from social context, my project will explore how values informed, structured and grew out of concrete cultural practices. I propose to read social relationships back into discussions of discourse and imagine a wider field of practical and discursive tensions in football culture, uniting structural and discursive analysis through the practices of social and cultural history.

Another fruitful avenue of research has centered on the cultural production of 'Britishness' and belonging through the colony/metropole relationship. The evolution of legal nationality policy in the twentieth century reflected the state's divisive construction

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[25] Bob Carter, Marci Green and Rick Halpern, "Immigration Policy and the Racialization of Migrant Labour: The Construction of National Identities in the USA and Britain," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19:1 (January 1996), 135-157; Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1997); Ian Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Asifa Maaria Hussain, *British Immigration Policy Under the Conservative Government* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2001).

of racial difference in the metropole in response to colonial migrants and workers.[26] Colonial domestic lives also reflect the tension between nationality, race, and gender.[27] Like other cultural settings in the postwar period, football has provided politicians and political interest groups the opportunity to redefine and challenge existing ideas of 'Britishness'. These ideas of Britishness have been constituted relationally and in opposition to resistance, most often defined in terms of an anti-social 'Other'. British football, first through the problem of football violence in the 1970s, and again in discussions of football racism in the 1990s, provided spaces for historical actors to express and promote values of masculine propriety, respect, and discipline. The maintenance of national values through football clearly reflected postcolonial concerns about improper British conduct—both for black and white Britons—and colonial migrants. Working-class violence perpetrated by white youths challenged ideas of propriety and masculinity in the shadow of Britain's national sport. Later, black players and players of international origin succeeding in the British football labor market further complicated the British heritage of sport and symbolically endangered the 'Britishness' of this site of popular culture for some. This project analyzes how discourses of violence and racism in football demonstrated government ministers' commitment to maintaining bourgeois British ideals, capitalizing on the social movements in football to inculcate socially-constructed British values. Understanding how different groups of British

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[26] Laura Tabili, "The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925" *Journal of British Studies* 33 (January 1994), 54-98; Paul, *Whitewashing Britain.*

[27] Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: 'Race', Gender and National Identity 1945-64* (London: University College of London Press, 1998).

people, the press, and the state perceived these myths and how they functioned as forms of solidarity—and how they were challenged by violence and racism in football—will illuminate the links between British nationalism, popular racism and masculine values.

Finally, this study will reveal how football violence and football racism, usually depicted as two separate phenomena, were intimately linked.[28] First, racial abuse materialized out of a wide range of disruptive and violent practices at football matches. Evidence will show that spectators, both within and outside formal neo-fascist movements, practiced racial abuse as a response to concerns about thriving black footballers within the sport and prevalent social issues such as immigration and job competition outside of it. Racisms in football reflected the emotionality and competition embodied in violent interactions between rival groups of fans. Second, inasmuch as racisms in the sport developed from the same historical trajectory as football violence, anti-racism constituted an additional element of an expanded moral repertoire constructed to counteract football violence in the late 1960s and 1970s. As football violence emerged, state authorities instituted a variety of practical and rhetorical strategies to reclaim football as a site of order and harmony representative of the British nation itself. Later, as racism in the game overshadowed concerns about violence, similar normative processes of sanitization and repossession materialized from several branches of

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[28] The key sociological studies on racism in football focus on identity politics and problems with multiculturalism, and only marginally recognize the intersections of racism and violence in football. See Garland and Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*; Les Back, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001). See also Les Back, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos, "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet: Race, Social Theory and Football Culture," *British Journal of Sociology* 50:3 (September 1999), 419-442.

government and the public to protect Britain's image of harmonious multiculturalism. Football anti-racism became another form of institutionalized public order against customary expressions of social discontent, becoming representative of larger social fractures in British society and eliciting local political action and national political debate.

As the third part of this book will demonstrate, understanding the links between football anti-racism and anti-violence strategies implicates them in earlier historical manifestations of state violence and gendered standards perpetrated during the 1960s and 1970s. Though expressions of racism had been occurring at football matches since the 1970s, public awareness and political mobilization against the problem did not happen on a significant scale until the late 1980s. When they did appear, anti-racist organizations embodied practices and political ideologies present in state discourses about anti-violence decades earlier. Primarily, continuities of violence and gender exclusion marked the evolution of anti-racist action from anti-violence strategies. First, working-class spectators championed violence as a means to combat racism, advocating aggressive authority to combat unwanted behaviors. Both anti-fascist and anti-racist organizations' practices resembled the government's earlier utilization of intemperate policing and sought to revive the power of threatening violence to deter racial abuse. Second, the encouragement and continuation of self-policing as a suitable form of correction for the football environment emerged in anti-racist movements as it had previously in anti-

violence campaigns.[29] Football authorities and local police constables consistently encouraged community policing by individual members of spectating collectives, though these measures usually proved unsuccessful. Anti-racist spectators readily assumed the role of community policemen within stadiums, threatening punishment to perpetrators of racist activities. Third, just as violent environments made women's participation in football spectatorship subject to codes of masculine conduct, so too did the perpetuation of threatening violence within anti-racism movements. Women were excluded from political participation against racism in football because violence perpetuated environments which discouraged women's involvement. Finally, while working-class violence endangered British national mythologies of peaceful class interaction and successful social welfare, racisms in football challenged prevalent ideas of multiethnic harmony and cultural integration. Both sets of myths required constant maintenance. Football, as the most publicized and popular British sport, came to represent these ideas of the nation. Politicians and sectors of the public capitalized on the opportunities violence and racism offered, imbuing football with new responsibilities to construct viable, normative sets of behavior that reflected ideas of "Britishness". These values clearly reflected gendered and racial understandings of what constituted proper masculine

[29] It should be noted that 'self-policing' is a term frequently associated with Michel Foucault's conceptualization of self-discipline, where an individual, through various implements of correction imposed from without, learns to avert certain behaviors before they are enacted, thus 'policing' one's own conduct. I reuse the term here as several British authorities and football spectators employed it in documents read for this study. Rather than self-discipline, they mean the policing of a community, collective, or social group by one or more of its own members. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage: New York, 1977).

conduct in the setting of Britain's established working-class recreation, even as working-class men lost control over this site of leisure.

Rethinking Sports History

One of the primary purposes of this project is to complicate the existing narratives about the role of sport in society and its political utilization. Contemporary academic and popular understandings of football in Britain buttress ideas of its central role in British mythology and multicultural nation-building, from its role in education in schools and county pitches to the unfolding dramas between national sides. These latent associations always have a political trace, and the complex meanings infused in football in Britain need to be untangled and laid bare. The political investment in sport, where government agents have utilized sport to build favor and how sport figured in the complex webs of contemporary political and social relationships, needs to be recognized.[30] For instance, while the 'sanitization' of football aimed first at removing violence, it only did so through the creation of a wide web of violent punishments and the creation of restricted and oppressive public spaces. Rather than assuming football's natural role in anti-racist efforts as a means of social education without scrutiny, a better understanding of the historical and political development of anti-racism in football will reveal how various fan groups drew on previous state discourses of violence and aggression to construct an anti-

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[30] For an organized summary of the intricate relationship between sports and politics in the postwar period, see Martin Polley, *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society Since 1945* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

racist platform. The assumption that football can be effectively used to publicize anti-racist discourses and implement new anti-violent mentalities will be challenged.

Though these assumptions may be utilizable in the short term, they also incorporated messages and meanings which went beyond a Manichean scheme of antagonist/protagonist, violence/anti-violence, and racist/anti-racist. This project attempts to demystify the complicated figurations in British football and its associations with violent social conduct and narratives of racism and anti-racism. This project is not a wholesale apology for working-class fans, but rather an exploration of the oppressive power disparities they faced, and an analysis of the historical meanings state responses and fan movements generated. Spectators' adherence to violent codes of conduct rendered them culpable in creating environments of opposition and aggression.[31] Reading police reports and witness statements of these violent encounters revealed not only the practices police used, but the extreme terror and fear instigated by spectator aggression and unwanted violence. In addition, the simplified and violent messages associated with football anti-racism movements betrayed the historical legacy imparted to them by government regimes that promoted violence and the creation of violent spaces as the means to solve problems of working-class aggression. Therefore, one must critically engage all angles and positions within the complex webs of power relationships constructed amongst football spectators and their governments. Inasmuch as sport will

[31] For a popular sociological investigation of the intimacies of group violence in football, see Bill Buford, *Among the Thugs* (New York: Norton, 1991).

be interrogated, so too will assumptions about the beneficial historical manifestations of violence, anti-violence, and anti-racism.

Periodization and Sources

The study consists of three sections. The main evidence for Parts One and Two is comprised of Home Office and Department of Environment documents composed from the late 1960s through the 1970s. Both agencies collected a wide variety of materials relating to football disorder, police activities, architectural changes, and financial provision. These records have not been available to the public in the past due to the standard thirty-year embargo on British government records. My research period ended in 2007, allowing me to analyze recently released records from the mid-1960s to 1977. I also consulted records on earlier disasters and files composed by the Office in the 1940s and 1950s of isolated cases of football hooliganism. These materials reveal government ministers' activities and agendas on British football violence, as well as the politics behind the state's coordinated response.

The sources for Part Two of the study come from a wide variety of document repositories and cover two key periods when neo-fascism, racism and anti-racism in football became politically prominent: the late 1970s and the late 1980s onward. For the most part, the analysis of these processes was culled from a collection of fanzines, newspaper and magazine articles, and organizational materials from *Kick It Out!* and *Football Unites, Racism Divides*. I also examined a wide variety of fascist and anti-

fascist publications to illuminate the attitudes expressed by these social groups and the political practices they participated in, especially as they related to British football. Scrutiny of this diverse body of evidence has proven critical in grasping not only issues directly related to football, but enabling the much wider examination of how football figured in discussions of racism and violence in British society in the past forty years.

The standard binary between primary and secondary sources does not always prove fruitful in this episode of contemporary social study and recent history. Academics and journalists commented on the happenings within British football as the sequence of events continued to unfold, making the definitive separation of primary and secondary evidence untenable. Academics contributed to prevalent discourses about football violence and racism within the game, and in many cases worked with government commissions and fan-based associations to provide policy recommendations that directly affected political decisions.[32] In addition, football fans in representative associations also pursued academic research that contributed to ongoing discussions of the issues at hand.[33] Therefore, the multiple voices which created the evidentiary resources for this project

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[32] See, for example, the work of the sports sociologists at the University of Leicester, who became the primary research center supported by the Football Trust. Dunning, et.al., *The Roots of Football Hooliganism: An Historical and Sociological Study*; Williams et.al. *Hooligans Abroad: The Behaviour and Control of English Fans in Continental Europe*.

[33] Rogan Taylor, a one time Chair of the Football Supporters' Association, became a major academic voice on contemporary football with his book on the National Federation of Football Supporters' Clubs. See Rogan Taylor, *Football and Its Fans: Supporters and their Relations with the Game, 1885-1985* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1992). Several key voices in the academic literature on football anti-racism are also involved in fan- and club-based initiatives, further blurring the lines between 'primary' and 'secondary' in this particular arena of social research. See the Preface to Les Back, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football.*

cannot always be neatly categorized. The discourses and texts analyzed here, be they created by academics or politicians, influenced the direction of social policy and public discussion of football-related issues. I treat all of these sources with care, providing background for each cache of evidence while recognizing the fickle distinction between secondary and primary texts in this topic of study.

I have adopted a critical analytic approach rather than a chronological evaluation or a total methodological project based on a pre-determined research model. Chronology is important in understanding the development of historical trends and transitions within this specific story, as well as the larger surrounding contexts. I have attempted to provide chronological cues while maintaining an analytical approach that spans both space and time to indicate more widespread political and legislative developments as well as agency attitudes. Therefore, chapters have been organized topically, and use primary evidence created by a variety of social actors, from politicians to supporters' clubs to football authorities.

Exploring Race, Class and Power

Finally, any contemporary investigation into the historical and situational specificities of race and racism must recognize the relative autonomy of race as an ideological and ontological concept while simultaneously appreciating its intersection with other categories of analysis in the complex constitution of power relations: class, gender, sex, age, and religion. That is, the concept of race cannot be blindly reduced to

the dialogic struggles of material economics. Nor can it be separated from its involvement in the complicated and interconnected disparities of power which revolve around multiple conceptual axes.[34] Furthermore, attempts to use such contested terminology also must be continually undermined. The conceptual content of terms such as 'race', 'racism','class', 'gender' and 'immigrant' must not only be qualified but consistently questioned. The third part of this book, in large part, attempts to clarify how football provided an opportunity for different groups of social actors to give meaning to discussions of these terms.

The terminology 'black' and 'white' will be used carefully for several reasons, and these terms must be qualified. My use of the term 'black' includes anyone of Afro-Caribbean and Asian origin, though this general term should not obscure the variations in culture and identity under this umbrella. The term 'white' includes those not of Afro-Caribbean, African or Asian origin. The emphasis on origin proved the foundation for spectators and journalists' reformulated creation of an imagined black 'race'. The fans mapped this concept onto their grouping of Afro-Caribbean footballers by recognizing appearance cues that indicated non-British origins, such as variations in skin color or accent, and discriminated accordingly. Mapping 'race' onto a group of individuals essentialized those individuals and assumed a homogenous concept of 'blackness,' and its opposite, 'whiteness'. 'Race' as a differentiating factor has always been a figment of imagination, and despite many misconceived attempts, eludes any sound definition rooted

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[34] Laura Tabili, "Race is a Relationship and Not a Thing," *Journal of Social History* 37:1 (Fall 2003), 125-130.

in biology.[35] The changing conceptual terrain and constant reinvention of 'race' to fit that terrain allows a continuous genesis in any given society.[36] Therefore the distinctions made in this project follow those created by the subjects and actors themselves, and reflect the mental and ideological divisions they produced and reformulated constantly, though the analysis continuously questions the validity and stability of their usage.

Questions about the development of conceptualizations of race and racism within the public arena, and outside of academia, drive this investigation of the connections between racism and football. In particular, how and when does racism become an important political symbol and socially-acceptable topic? For whom? In what linguistic and rhetorical frameworks are race and racism discussed in different pockets of society? What role do racist political ideologies and anti-racist organizations play in determining the saliency and content of conversations about racism in British society? Evidence will show that from the late 1980s onward football became a central cultural and institutional site where ideas about racism and society could be enacted and debated. British football became an educative resource for anti-racist groups and central political bodies like the Commission for Racial Equality, and at the same time proved a fertile arena for neo-fascist recruiters. Analysis of the marriage of race and football offers compelling insights into the productive and discursive capacities of debates about race in the late twentieth

[35] See Steven Rose and Hilary Rose, "Less Than Human Nature: Biology and the New Right," *Race & Class* XXVII, no. 3 (1986), 47-66.

[36] For a wonderfully enlightening discussion of the problems surrounding the perpetuation of race, as well as the foundation of the attending terminology, see Barbara Jeanne Fields, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181: 3 (May/June 1990).

century. Furthermore, the problem of racism in football, unlike political discussions of social policy, has been politicized publicly and discussed in astonishingly forthright terms. Critical analysis of the historical and ideological processes by which race came to be understood as a 'political symbol' or 'nodal point', a transition which some sociologists have labeled the "racialisation of political life and social relations", has been an increasingly fruitful area of social research.[37]

Paul Gilroy has argued that immigration, race riots and other episodes like the Salman Rushdie affair offer politicians and other social actors the opportunity to discuss race politics indirectly, without recourse to the language of race or conversations about racism.[38] In contrast, football's anti-racism campaigns became open public arenas where many could discuss racism and anti-racism without coded language. Chapter Seven will demonstrate that anti-racists gave particular content to the characterizations of 'racist' and 'anti-racist', assigning sets of behavior which defined each label. They delineated regulated behavioral practices which could be easily defined as acceptable or unacceptable within contemporary expectations for public order at football matches. Analysis of how these terms became associated with this content will reveal that these characterizations oversimplified complex networks and fields of power relations amongst nationalist parties, non-fascist racists, and anti-racist supporters.

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[37] See Introduction to Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain*, quote from p. 2. On race as a 'nodal point' as opposed to an individualized and non-universal political 'issue', see Introduction to Anna Marie Smith, *Far Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality: Britain, 1968-1990* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[38] Paul Gilroy, "The End of Anti-Racism," in Wendy Ball and John Solomos, eds. *Race and Local Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

Finally, in the past sociologists have loosely utilized the term ‘hooliganism’ to encompass a wide range of ill-defined behaviors and practices, and used the label ‘hooligan’ to describe the actors who perpetrated them.[39] I avoid all use of the term here, except when describing the ways in which historical actors characterized spectators, to avoid perpetuating its negative connotations. Instead, I have used descriptive terms like ‘disruptive’, ‘unruly’, or ‘rowdy’ when discussing spectators whose behavior challenged the regulating practices of others. In as many cases as possible, I describe their exact behaviors, including fighting, swaying, provoking the police, and chanting, among others.

Outline of Chapters

The two chapters in Part One provide the background for later individualized analyses on violence and racism in the football setting. Chapter One describes the shared experiences and social networks engendered by football spectatorship in the 1950s and 1960s. In contrast to consumer-oriented and wide-reaching encounters in today’s American sports market, postwar British football matches served as nexuses of community-building, and team loyalties became the shared interior of both adult and youth social groups. Like nearly all contemporary sports markets across the globe, football attendance was riddled by class and gender divisions which intersected with

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[39] After a short debate about these imprecise labels, most football analysts outside of the press have attempted to move beyond ‘hooligan’ language, or at least to qualify how they use the term. For example, see John Williams, “Who Are You Calling a Hooligan,” in Mark Perryman, ed. *Hooligan Wars: Causes and Effects of Football Violence* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2001), 45; Frosdick and Marsh, *Football Hooliganism.*

territorial allegiances and local rivalries. Football attendance provided a cheap, accessible form of leisure for working-class men and women, though women remained marginalized by prescribed forms of masculine conduct. From these communal experiences emerged increasing levels of organized social violence at football matches, a phenomenon known throughout the period of this study as 'football hooliganism'. In assessing both police reports and oral histories, the chapter explores the complex forms of disorder from several different perspectives. Rather than offer a single psychological or socioeconomic cause for early football violence, I aim to provide both local and global contextualization and historicization for the emergence of this peculiar phenomenon in the social and cultural struggles of postwar Britain. In the end, I hope to avoid the pitfalls of oversimplifying football supportership as a guaranteed experience of chaos and unprovoked violence by reinserting the collective and constructive aspects of these activities.

The second chapter critically explores the moral anxieties constructed about and around football violence. I borrow the sociological concept of "moral panics" to analyze the leading role played by political agents and police officers in sensationalizing football violence and demonizing those who perpetrated it. Government documents and correspondence reveal how national values of bourgeois propriety, respectability, and classed paternalism imbued discourses about football violence. Several moral commentators, especially cabinet ministers in charge of sport, used various rhetorical strategies to harangue against the lawlessness, improper masculine conduct, and moral degeneration they perceived in outbreaks of football disorder. These political and public

expressions arranged a belittling discursive terrain where young working-class men were framed as criminal and animalistic while moral entrepreneurs offered the behavioral tonic to cure the 'hooligan' disease. These discourses justified the implementation of crowd control measures which paradoxically exacerbated rather than prevented violence. By breaking down the elements of the moral panic surrounding football violence, as well as investigating those who constructed such rhetoric, we can begin to understand the complicated interstices within the construction of expressions of youth discrimination, implicit concepts of gender and class in national mythology, and the frameworks of moralizing oratory.

Part Two analyzes the state's response to football violence. Each looks at one of three component elements of the total policy of containment employed by politicians, police and football authorities to eradicate football violence. While much has been written about how commercialization and higher ticket prices constituted an attack on various fan groups, here I analyze how the practical implementation of spatial organization, policing strategies, and threatening punishments directly targeted lively football spectatorship.[40] Using government files, Chapter Three fleshes out the successive waves of political proposals meant to establish controlled and surveilled physical spaces within and outside stadiums. The British government relentlessly endeavored to institute disciplined and conditioned forms of football consumption

[40] For the best examples of this area of study, see Anthony King, *The End of the Terraces: The Transformation of English Football* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1998); Stephen Wagg, ed. *British Football and Social Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

through direct manipulation of the architectural environment. The chapter outlines the draconian manifestations of these policies as well as supporters' resistance to them.

In addition to physical divisions, the state also encouraged local police to apply combative and provoking regulation strategies that reinforced the aggressive characteristics of the football environment. Chapter Four looks at how football provided a platform for both Labour and Conservative party members to extend violent and confrontational police tactics which aimed to demonstrate their commitment to law-and-order principles evident in both public and political discourses. Government inquiries shared information, considered new police approaches and arrest powers, and developed sophisticated identification and communication systems that presaged the widespread implementation of closed-circuit television (CCTV) surveillance. Now subject to ever-increasing surveillance in highly disciplined and policed environments, spectators faced stringent punitive measures when apprehended. Chapter Five analyzes how government officials pressured magistrates' courts to consider new severe sentencing alternatives. As the state manipulated the mechanisms for punishment they continuously neglected the social and cultural background conditioning football violence, opting for expressions of authority rather than sustained efforts to address the origins of football violence.

In Part Three, the focus shifts to the emergence of racisms and anti-racist movements in football. Chronologically, the scope of this section begins in the late 1970s and covers the next two decades. Topically, this section investigates the various responses to the emergence of successful black footballers. Chapter Six examines how

racial abuse and racial violence in the football environment was stimulated by fascist nationalist parties and their calculated demonstrations at football matches. The chapter locates fascist paper-selling and recruiting at local football stadiums within a wide range of political practices that proved somewhat effective for fringe nationalist parties in the key periods of the late 1970s and early 1990s. I also evaluate the materialization of anti-fascist fan groups which engaged in violent encounters with neo-fascists on a regular basis within contested football spaces. In the end, I attempt to come to some conclusions about the impact and legacy of fascist and anti-fascist groups on racisms and anti-racist social movements in football.

Chapter Seven looks at racism and anti-racism outside of fascist and nationalist influences. In some ways, this distinction between racial attitudes inside and outside the persuasion of fascism needs to be challenged. Previous studies have made the distinction in an attempt to discover the less overt forms of racial abuse in football which may have been obscured by the 'folk devil' of football fascism.[41] However, I aim to analyze prevalent forms of racial abuse and racial discrimination with an eye towards their significance in a postcolonial Britain riddled by controversies over immigration, race riots, and competition for employment. Certainly, many fascists engaged in vitriolic commentary about these issues, and their influence on rhetorical and practical politics cannot be ignored. Some football specialists have disregarded fascist involvement as

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[41] The distinction is most clearly articulated in Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*. On fascism in football as a readily identifiable 'folk devil', see Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and John Solomos, "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet: Race, Social Theory and Football Culture," *British Journal of Sociology* vol. 50:3 (September 1999), 419-442.

exceptional, but such outspoken opinions were always prevalent in discussions of racism in football. I also focus on the government and fans' reaction to racism and fascism in football, noting the connections with previous efforts to sanitize football in the 1970s. In sum, early fan-based initiatives rekindled the threat of violence to address racism in an effort to purge football of its latest moral evil. National anti-racist movements also chose football as a highly-publicized and usefully educative cultural institution through which to deploy widespread anti-racist messages. Both sets of actors oversimplified the structures and discourses of racism and anti-racism, providing an utilizable political success story that obfuscated indirect and inadvertent racisms.

Overall, the evidence demonstrates that violent environments and state interventions into citizens' lives precipitated further acts of violence and racial abuse, occasioning conflicts threatening to rupture the cultural fabric of local and national communities. Though football violence originated with fans' partisanships, the state's extension of control and discipline into football effectively exacerbated oppositional and aggressive environs within stadiums, and conditioned later grassroots anti-racist movements. Just as football racisms grew out of football disorder generally, anti-racism developed from the impulse to maintain order and perpetuate national mythologies associated with British football. As the following chapters will show, the sport not only served as a window onto wider conflicts about morality, nationality, violence and racism, but also became a crucible of political and social anxieties which contributed to those contests and helped to define them.

Chapter One- An Introduction to Football Violence:

Context, Community and Conflict.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s football attendance became a communal activity for working-class men and women, enriched by strong social networks and shared collective experiences. Football spectators gathered in multiple venues across Britain on the weekends to participate in customary activities that promoted specific values of locality, community, and territoriality. In contrast to their middle-class counterparts, working-class men and women preferred the standing accommodation of the terraces to the more expensive seating stands.[1] They found that the freedom of movement and the ability to commune that terrace spaces provided better facilitated maintaining and building social relationships through football spectatorship.

Groups of violent youths that emerged from these informal social networks engaged in an increasingly large number of raucous and threatening activities throughout the late 1960s and 1970s. These disruptions ranged from cursing and taunting policemen to organized violent encounters between groups of opposing fans. Oral histories of several different groups of terrace supporters provide a wealth of historical information about community and companionship in this working-class cultural institution. Police

[1] This distinction between types of seating will probably be unknown to most North American readers, as nearly all North American sporting events occur in all-seated stadiums. However, in the rest of the world "terraces" refers to standing accommodation in open spaces demarcated only by fenced or walled boundaries. It usually affords an inferior view of the match to seated accommodation which flanks the field. Terraces are usually divided by crush barriers, long handrails that prevent the movement of the crowd. Seated accommodation has always been an option in modern British sport, but not always available to all.

reports also afford the opportunity to examine not only the forms of disorder that spectators initiated, but also how the police framed their actions and responded to them. Using this body of evidence provides contrasting views of football violence through their richly detailed accounts and presents the opportunity to capture the voices of the social actors involved.

Using these sources, this chapter aims to contextualize British football violence and provide a background to the expansion of state control over this national sport. It will first provide social, economic and cultural contextual background before establishing a profile of football attendance among terrace supporters and discussing the ways in which people forged community bonds and neighborhood alliances through British football. It will also recount the forms of violence and disorder that British fans participated in, and the varied and conflicted responses towards their increasing incidence among many types of fans. This introduction to British football violence provides a background to the responses by the public, government agencies, and local police authorities that will be examined in later chapters.

British Football Violence Contextualized

The relative affluence of British society in the 1950s and 1960s provided increased opportunities for sporting leisure and popular entertainment, and professional football became the mainstay of these weekend pursuits. Along with cinema attendance and seaside trips, football spectatorship developed into an accessible and widespread

form of recreation.[2] Advances in British leisure received the full support of Clement Attlee's (1945-51) postwar administration. Attlee wanted to provide welfare and security for the British people that had been lacking since the interwar period. While this administration had no specific policy on sport, they did recognize the benefits of extending leisure and popular entertainment to British citizens. The proposed reconstruction of Britain's labor force and anticipation of full employment depended on balancing work with leisurely pursuits such as football spectatorship.[3]

Throughout the 1950s, programs for physical education and participation proliferated, culminating in the establishment of the cabinet position titled Minister for Sport in 1962 under the Conservatives, and the national Sports Council by Harold Wilson's Labour administration in 1966. Both major political parties promoted the extension of British sport to more participants, but also chartered research on perceived problems within British sporting culture. As Britain's second Minister for Sport, Denis Howell oversaw the extension of state power into British football that will be discussed later. These developments resulted in skyrocketing interest in British sport, and football specifically, as a British tradition that provided not only opportunities for participation, but also for recreational and community-based football spectatorship. The marked interest that several postwar governments demonstrated in promoting grassroots football

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[2] James Walvin, *Football and the Decline of Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1986).

[3] Richard Holt and Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain, 1945-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 146-147.

participation linked directly to the widespread desire for the national team to succeed on the international stage.[4]

The intertwined interests of government and British football culminated in England's World Cup victory in 1966, arguably the world's greatest sporting achievement. The championship heralded Britain's return to the international stage after a period of decline. Defeats in sport throughout the 1950s mirrored Britain's international regression. In the first twenty years after the war, though postwar administrations had succeeded in returning affluence to British society for large segments of the population, they suffered international humiliation in the Suez Canal affair, the decolonization of Africa, and Europe's marginalization during the Cold War. England's victory in 1966 provided a symbolic but tangible sense of restoration of British superiority in both the sporting world and national politics.[5]

Through the 1966 World Cup victory football became cemented as a primarily working-class bastion. England not only won the trophy, but also hosted the tournament, allowing more Britons exposure to football as a modern form of entertainment. It represented an improvement in fortunes for working-class spectators who closely identified with the team. The team itself had a particularly working-class feel to it: values of hard work and physical toil embodied in the English side won out over the flair

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[4] Holt and Mason have shown how throughout the postwar period, domestic interest in physical education was connected to the fluctuations in British sporting achievement abroad. See Holt and Mason, *Sport in Britain, 1845-2000*, Chapter 7.

[5] *Ibid*, 129.

and gusto of more talented global opposition. This construction of English playing 'style' as bullish and honest, constructed mostly by the media but reproduced elsewhere, represented values to which many working-class men related.[6] Football spectatorship at the local club level received a quick boost from the rise in national visibility and popularity of the sport. However, it became clear that some popular approaches to football spectatorship had changed from leisurely family recreation to stylized and fiercely loyal partisanships rooted in reinterpretations of working-class ideals. The marriage of working-class men and football continued, fueled by new generations of supporters who grew up with the game.

Economic historians have claimed that prosperous national economies marked Europe for two decades from 1953, culminating in stagflation and fluctuating currency rates caused by the oil crisis of 1973.[7] Spurred by American investment and stable exchange rates managed by the European Payments Union and the International Monetary Fund, European economies neared full capacity.[8] The Labour Party in Britain, like many European attempts at social democracy, fostered the management of a mixed-market economy, balancing private investment with state management of key resources

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[6] Phil Vasili's characterization of the 1966 World Cup team as working-class heroes is fairly accurate. See *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (London: Mainstream, 2000), 127-128. Contemporary analysis of the symbolic constructions of playing 'style' are analyzed in Chas Critcher, "Putting on the Style: Aspects of Recent English Football," in John Williams and Stephen Wagg, eds. *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1991).

[7] Rosemary Wakeman, "The Golden Age of Prosperity, 1953-73," in Rosemary Wakeman, ed. *Themes in European History Since 1945* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[8] Wim Meeusen, "European Economic Integration: From Business Cycle to Business Cycle," in Wakeman, ed., *Themes in European History since 1945* (2003).

and industries in a form of state-managed capitalism. Nationalization, centralized state planning, and investment in industry pulled Britain's economy out of the postwar recession as both the Labour and the Conservative parties planned for full employment, living incomes, moderate wage raises, and the extension of social welfare services.[9] Health care, electricity, coal production, and railway services all came under the development of the British state in a long period of state-supported economic growth. This prosperity also existed because successive government administrations effectively managed conflicts between labor representatives and the interests of capital until the late 1960s, avoiding politically devastating strikes and crises of industrialization.

The side effects of constant economic growth gradually engulfed European nations, impelling Britain in particular towards decreasing government expenditure. Inflation afflicted working-class livelihoods in most of Western Europe as the money supply swelled beyond what was necessary for most national economies. Within Europe inflation rates rose from 3.5% to 5% from 1968 to 1969 and to 7% by 1971.[10] Increasing deficits in the American balance of payments followed in Britain. In November 1967, the devaluation of the pound pushed Harold Wilson's Labour administration to void the "social contract" and decrease domestic spending by £716 million over the next two years.[11] Though the Labour Party had already removed Clause

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[9] Wakeman, "The Golden Age of Prosperity," 64.

[10] Meeusen, "European Economic Integration," 241.

[11] Alfred Havighurst, *Britain in Transition* (fourth edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 529.

Four—the commitment of Labour representatives to nationalization of key industries for general welfare—in 1964, this retrenchment signaled a new era of social divestment. Roy Jenkins, Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, imposed strict government expenditure restrictions and introduced several new taxes and levies as priority was given to balancing Britain's international deficit.[12] Labour effectively chose to maintain international capitalist relations rather than its promises of social democracy and public welfare.

International market fluctuations, especially the tightening of monetary policies in America following a brief 1969 recession, also affected the national economy. Since the Marshall Plan, Britain and other European countries remained tied to the vacillations in the American dollar market, the only currency backed by gold. Jenkins' economic plan to battle the international deficit of payments could not be achieved without an open-ended loan of up to one trillion dollars from the International Monetary Fund in 1969. By September, the national economy recovered and the prolonged payments crisis ended, but again through the investment of foreign banking capital.[13]

Because of these various impositions, British citizens, especially those in working-class households, began to feel the effects of intermittent periods of inflation and increasing costs of living since the mid-1960s. Though on a national level, British economists managed to maneuver through the mercurial years leading to 1973, the effects of mismanaged capitalist relations were felt much earlier by the working poor. Jenkins'

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[12] Kenneth O. Morgan, *The People's Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 277-280.

[13] *Ibid*, 281.

fiscal conservatism meant that for most factory workers the cost of living increases outpaced rises in wages. Rises in the prices of goods due to inflation coupled with increases in National Insurance dues and decreased social benefits to make working-class livelihoods progressively more demanding by 1968. The deterioration of labor-capital relationships also had extreme effects on working-class men and women as well. The Labour Party attempted to impose a 3.5% ceiling on wages, dividends, and salary increases through the 1968 Prices and Incomes Bill. In January 1969 Wilson and Jenkins attempted to lead Labour against the Trades Union Congress, affirming legislation that would impose order and financial sanctions on unofficial strikes. Both moves angered the T.U.C.: not only did it endanger the rights of workers to strike, it also threatened to limit their attempts to better their wage structure and thus their livelihood in an era of economic difficulty.[14]

British government in the 1960s also faced a number of challenges inspired by youth dissension. Cultural commentators and politicians became concerned about youth permissiveness, exemplified in drug use, pop music and generational rebelliousness.[15] The first development of youth subcultures had inspired new associations among working-class youth and perceived threats to security that became the subject of media and academic attention. Teddy Boys and Girls appeared in 1955 and spread from the inner-city to the suburbs, taking their unique blend of style and vandalism to the heart of

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[14] Havighurst, *Britain in Transition*, 529-533.

[15] Morgan, *The People's Peace*, 292-3.

the new, purportedly affluent Britain. The Mods and Rockers, the next wave of youthful threats to postwar British serenity, made headlines by vandalizing several seaside resorts in 1964. These style-conscious and increasingly violent subcultures became Britain's first postwar 'folk devils'.[16] To several commentators these subcultures represented the worst aspects of the rise of affluent consumer society, the outcome of a lingering social paradox in postwar Britain. While affluence and comfort were the aspirations of political and social interventions by postwar governments and the rise of the welfare state, many Britons resented the freedom that affluence produced. To many, the Teds, Mods and Rockers, and subsequent subcultural groups in later years, represented the replacement of production at the center of social life with egregious leisure and consumption.[17] Postwar youths' penchant for expensive clothes and conspicuous consumption of drugs, clothes, and alcohol indicated the unfortunate outcomes of new wealth and a more generalized moral decay in British society.

Further studies revealed that the distress generated by youth subcultures was not merely a product of collective 'labels', but that these associations also had their origins in shifts in the structural and cultural make-up of British society. In the late 1960s skinhead groups constituted a collective attempt to reclaim working-class identity by emphasizing its masculine and aggressive character. Their symbolic representations of hostility and belligerence, epitomized by certain forms of dress and grooming, achieved social

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[16] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1972).

[17] Kenneth Thompson, *Moral Panics* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 46.

recognition inaccessible to them otherwise. The Mods, in contrast, had dressed fashionably in effort to express their figurative rise in social mobility, an attempt to mimic a livelihood not generally available to them.[18] Both subcultural movements became means by which working-class youths manipulated their immediate social environments and resisted class subordination through sometimes violent transgression. As reactions to modifications in the structural composition of class relationships, youth collective identities sought recognition of their public resistance. They achieved their goal. A series of media condemnations accompanied the rise in popularity of each youth subculture, and provided a framework for moral backlash by football spectators.[19] Youth subcultural movements also became linked with football, as Skinheads and Casuals participated in football violence and attracted the attention of police. These groups of rival fans also attracted widespread media attention that interpreted their violent transgressions as moral disobedience rather than expressions of class struggle.

Sections of privileged youth also provoked the general moral concern with Britain's next generation. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament proved a significant venue for development of middle-class youth counter-culture, beginning in 1958 but continuing throughout the next decade. Not only did their anti-nuclear activism have a specific political content, but it also embodied a more general sense of anti-social

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[18] Phil Cohen, "Sub-Cultural Conflict and Working-Class Community," Occasional Paper No. 2 (Birmingham: Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1972).

[19] For an excellent early analysis of youth subcultures, and the media responses to them, see Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds. *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Sub-Cultures in Post-War Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1976).

rebellion, marked by a particular distaste for British high society. They also became the first postwar generation of student involvement in organized protest. By 1968 students had identified further political pursuits and mobilized in small scale in several parts of Britain. Specific university concerns about authoritarian university administrations and misgivings about academic research on behalf of the military soon blossomed into more formal critiques of the British social system as a whole. By May 1968, when it was clear that students in other cities across Europe had generated serious social disruptions, more British students criticized the contradictions of the British capitalist system and attempted to control their own academic spaces in London, most notably occupations of the London School of Economics and Essex College.[20]

The 1968 student uprisings constituted a transformational moment in public images of youth culture, but also in the general history of modern Europe. In several global cities such as Tokyo, Berlin, and Naples, organized student movements constituted actual threats to governmental stability. They generated a series of theatrical and confrontational tactics calling for a hastened pace of government reform and threatened several cities with revolutionary conditions. The logic and politics of street underground movements temporarily replaced rational political debate, endangering the liberal institutions of European governments, if only briefly. Britain, though, experienced fewer direct challenges to its institutions, and the student movements failed to materialize out of hollow socialist rhetoric. Nonetheless, British citizens and the state interpreted the events

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[20] See David Robins, *We Hate Humans* (New York: Penguin, 1984).

of 1968 as rejection of the tenets of modern liberalism and betrayal by its youth. The next generation, especially the leadership culled from the lower-middle classes and students, presented their objections to the crises in British capitalism, the bungled control of productive labor, and the multiple failures of successive postwar governments.[21]

Stuart Hall, et. al. argue that from 1969 onward the reactions of the state developed a definitive authoritarian impulse. The law-and-order theme defined the Tory election campaign in 1970, which succeeded by deepening fears of anarchic threats on local and state levels. Both political parties became sensitized to internal enemies, from immigrants to students to leftists. In the same year, the Garden House Hotel trial made examples of disruptive students at Cambridge, six of whom received nine to eighteen month sentences for disrupting a private dinner meant to celebrate the success of military colonels. The Industrial Relations Act subtly aimed at organizing labor strikes and preventing disorder from working insurgents. Anti-immigrant rhetoric, articulated most vociferously by Enoch Powell, raised illegitimate fears of widespread immigrant crime and a faceless black enemy. The Immigration Act of 1971 concretized anti-immigrant attitudes and provided another tool through which law-and-order adherents could claim success against 'criminal' activity. The rupture between the daily lives of British citizens and the mechanizations of a state determined to react with a strong fist increased. Politics itself became a sphere increasingly distant from its subjects.[22] As will be shown, the

[21] Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke and Brian Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (New York: MacMillan, 1978), 240-242.

[22] Ibid, 273-293.

extension of state control over the football environment, which also posed threats to gentrified moral codes and the mythology of Britain's national traditions, occurred during this period as well.

The failed 1968 uprisings also intensified the polarization of British society, as the state and popular media quickly conflated the student movements with the destruction of British civil thought and morality from below. Not only had the youthful cohort challenged ethical principles fundamental to British ideas of proper political conduct, they also menaced the ideas of sovereign government. The student revolt, as a demonstration of the capability of youth interest groups to cause problems, constituted a challenge to the control of political life and political discourse that the government preserved.[23] These threats, though, proved more symbolic than tangible. Nonetheless, the 1968 revolts and their suppression provided a precedent for the extension of state power over areas of social conflict generally. Violent working-class subcultures and unruly students were two of many targets. As will be shown, both provided fodder for the created image of Britain's problematic and morally corrupt youth, which allowed politicians to attempt to affirm their position through the extension of law-and-order principles. One of their primary targets became raucous football hooligans, whose routine acts of violence and disruptive behavior violated these recent attempts at social regulation, and yet further encouraged discourses proclaiming the necessity of tough criminal action and moral regeneration.

[23] Ibid, 242, 247-249.

All of these images of defiant subcultures coalesced into a general condemnation of moral disintegration and youthful ignorance leveled by the media and much of British society. As Hall et.al. noted, "The themes of protest, conflict, permissiveness and crime begin to run together into one great, undifferentiated 'threat'; nothing more nor less than the foundations of the Social Order itself are at issue."[24] As a result, throughout the 1970s British administrations furthered their control over British social institutions, British professional football included. Youth activities like football spectatorship came under an increasingly watchful eye, bolstered by the development of television and the tabloid newspaper industry. Youth conduct generally, and working-class violence within British football specifically, became a focus of regulation and negotiation. As will be described below, the state legitimated its involvement in British football through discourses of increased criminal behavior, accelerated social anxieties, and the deterioration of the nation's juveniles.

By 1970, when the electorate lost confidence in Labour's ability to improve the standard of living, severe stagflation became the next in a series of British economic challenges. Edward Heath's brief Conservative administration failed to balance moderate wage increases with the increase in retail prices, nearly 9 percent on average from 1970-73. The spiral of wage increases, and subsequent increases in cost of production, led to a rising price index.[25] When Heath attacked wages to halt the detrimental economic cycle, industrial relations in Britain again deteriorated. By late 1972, the Conservatives also

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[24] Ibid, 247.

[25] Havighurst, *Britain in Transition*, 547-8.

implemented controls on all rents, wages, and dividends, limiting the incomes of most workers in effort to stabilize rising inflation. Employment had also reached its highest rate since the 1930s, with nearly 900,000 unemployed.[26]

The energy crisis of 1973 drastically effected both workers and the national economy, worsening a downward trend in living conditions begun in the late 1960s. Mounting inflation rates developed into a "real wage gap,"—where labor costs outpaced productivity—encouraging European firms to invest in technology and divest themselves of labor.[27] Structural unemployment rose, putting pressure on British workers and the British welfare state alike. The economy proved so destructive, in fact, that Labour again turned to the IMF for stabilizing foreign investment dollars in 1976. Though the credit alleviated mercurial economic trends, inflation remained around 13%, leaving many British workers struggling to adapt to fluctuations in the national economy.[28]

Concomitant processes of state expansion in the areas of regulation and social control and state contraction in the areas of social welfare marked post-1968 Britain. Though administrations changed, the general failure to remedy waves of high unemployment, or to address increasing housing concerns, resulted in the intensified deterioration of inner cities throughout the 1970s. Despite the high hopes that

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[26] *Ibid*, 551.

[27] Meeusen, "European Economic Integration," 244-5.

[28] The IMF credit of $3.9 billion was the largest amount ever offered by the organization. The British Treasury never fully drew on such a large offer, but the loan did help to level the balance of payments despite the economy's instability. More importantly, though on a national level the IMF loan appeared to alleviate economists' fears of a dark future, worsening economic conditions plagued working-class households for the tenth straight year.

accompanied the expansion of the welfare state immediately after the war, successive governments neglected to address the increasing severity of structural changes within working-class society. Although economists generally overstate European prosperity until 1973, constant battles over inflation, unemployment, and wage and price limitations since the late 1960s reduced the ability of working-class men and women to create stable livelihoods. By the late 1970s, with the national economy in full decline and a second oil crisis looming, new economic promises seemed attractive. Disappointed by the Labour Party, and tired of mishandled industrial relationships over the winter of 1979, much of the electorate hoped for better outcomes through the Conservatives' new idealism and considerably different economic policies.

In the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Party capitalized on widespread social and economic uncertainty by re-instituting neo-liberal laissez-faire capitalism in Britain. Thatcher's free market principles, privatization of state industries, and uncompromising cutbacks in social welfare limited further the opportunities available to working-class people generally, and working-class youth specifically. Thatcher also relentlessly attacked trade union organization, reducing the collective influence of working-class men and women and curbing the efficacy of their political activity. Before Thatcher, both political parties agreed on a consensus Keynesian mixed-economy model that balanced private enterprise with the public ownership of key industries. Thatcherism's radical departure from mixed economies in favor of monetarism, privatization of national industries, and the deregulation of business moved away from seeking full employment and social welfare as worthwhile goals.

The Thatcher administration ushered in a unique blend of utopianism and law-and-order regulation. Its most vociferous critics articulated its distinctive ability to fluidly resolve its own internal paradoxes by uniting diverse threads of social discourse into a consistently contradictory program.[29] Thatcher's brand of authoritarian populism promoted reductions in social welfare and the destruction of collective enterprise in favor of a renewed British individualism. An ordered, civil society was the goal. Extensions of state power secured an environment in which 'free markets' could thrive, regardless of the consequences for working-class men and women. These elements combined to form an inherently unstable but increasingly robust hegemonic superordinate, spearheaded by Thatcher's increasingly centralized power in the Conservative party. The complexity of Thatcherism forced critics to aim at an evasive target, but nonetheless, most social analysts recognized that Conservative economic policies negated the advances of the welfare state in the first postwar decades and unwittingly ensured steady economic decline throughout the 1980s. This noticeable contradiction between processes of state expansion for social and economic regulation and the repeal of instituted welfare made working-class livelihoods increasingly difficult.[30] Consistent with this larger project, the football stadium became a central space of state expansion, as the Home Office called for special regulation of the football industry, and football spectators specifically, as a prime area in need of law-and-order upkeep.

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[29] Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques, eds. *The Politics of Thatcherism* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1983).

[30] For detailed commentary on Thatcherism see Stuart Hall, *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left* (London: Verso, 1988); Bob Jessop, Kevin Bonnett, Simon Bromley and Tom Ling, *Thatcherism: A Tale of Two Nations* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989).

Social exclusion also characterized Thatcherite policies. New Right discourse, from Enoch Powell in 1968 to Mrs. Thatcher in the late 1980s, consistently articulated anti-immigrant and homophobic discourses to British citizens. Throughout her administration, Thatcher repeatedly manipulated popular fears and anxieties about distinct social groups within Britain to promote new political directions. Rhetoric demanding renewed moral codes became a consistent practice of the Thatcher government. The administration articulated a particularly conservative rendition of family values and bolstered British nationalism by linking this created ethos with individualism, hard work, and economic renewal. Discourses of social exclusion for migrants, Britons of color, and gay and lesbian communities became central to Thatcherite processes of moral revitalization. Identifying enemies who compromised British character and decency from within became a primary task as well, resulting in various forms of cultural racism and sexual discrimination. Overall, Thatcherism comprised a, "complex mixture of imagery, rhetoric and policies which was constantly re-defined in response to strategic circumstances throughout the three Thatcher governments."[31] The Thatcher administration also oversaw the institution of subtle social exclusions in the football environment, as working-class fans became priced out of regular football leisure. The third part of this dissertation will explain how far-right policies also fostered an environment of racial exclusion that encouraged anti-immigrant and anti-black attitudes in society generally, but in football specifically.

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[31] See Anne Marie Smith, *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality: Britain, 1968-1990* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The quote is from page 5.

From this wide context—the successive waves of fear about the emergence of youth subcultures, the changes in governmental approaches to British leisure and popular sporting entertainment, the convergence of working-class associations with football as Britain's national sport, the ever-present concern for the debasement of British youth, and the failure to remedy worsening economic conditions—emerged the phenomenon of football-related violence and the moral panics associated with it.[32] The postwar union of football and the working-class became even stronger as the sport's popularity increased. It continuously offered a cheap and accessible means of entertainment, and local clubs built local and regional alliances with fan bases across the country. Football spectatorship provided not only a form of leisure on the weekend, but a social arena that provided opportunities for self-identification and community relationships. To attend football not only signified local loyalties, but national pride in the national sport. Concurrently, fears about youth subcultures, from the Teddies to the Skinheads, promoted anxieties about youth violence and the salacious moral degeneration and permissiveness of the nation. The events of 1968 contributed to detrimental images of youth and yet made Britain aware of the structural and cultural deficiencies it would face

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[32] The more thoughtful investigations into British football violence and football professionalization by sociologists have attempted to provide as much contextual information as possible. See Roger Ingham, ed. *Football Hooliganism: The Wider Context* (London: Inter-Action Inpring, 1978) especially the introduction by Ingham and chapter by John Clarke, "Football and Working Class Fans: Tradition and Change,"; Ian Taylor, "Soccer Consciousness and Soccer Hooliganism," in Stanley Cohen, ed. *Images of Deviance* (New York: Penguin, 1971); Ian Taylor, "Class, Violence and Sport: The Case of Soccer Hooliganism in Britain," in Hart Cantelon and Richard Gruneau, eds. *Sport, Culture and the Modern State* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Steve Redhead, *Post-Fandom and the Millennial Blues: The Transformation of Soccer Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Anthony King, *The End of the Terraces: The Transformation of English Football in the 1990s* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1998). My efforts in this section are to provide historicization and contextualization of football violence as well, though from a different perspective.

in the coming decades. A deteriorating economy and Thatcherite social policy capitalized on and contributed to apprehensions about violent juveniles, immigration, and alternative lifestyles. The dual extension of state controls and free market principles ensured that working-class livelihoods would become increasingly arduous, haunted by concerns over employment and housing. British football violence and reactions to it must be placed within this multifaceted contextual field of relations.

As explored in the introduction, scholars have attempted to explain the leap from generalized social anxieties and class exclusion to violent and aggressive forms of football spectatorship in various ways. Early commentators noted that the "embourgeoisment of football" through processes of professionalization and internationalization prompted working-class fans to attempt to reclaim the intimacy of working-class communities through aggressive expressions of local solidarity, manifested frequently in affiliations with football clubs. These attitudes, coupled with the decline of working-class youth values and the waning importance of the elderly in working-class communities, allowed violence to occur on a larger scale. The conflict between the watching 'styles' of generations resulted in the younger cohort incorporating violence into the weekend's entertainment.[33] Others have explained violence as intrinsic to processes of self-identification and masculine initiation in many communities of football spectators. Fans were socialized into quasi-violent cultures: cultures that accept moderated violence with variable determined limits depending on agreed social

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[33] Ian Taylor, "Soccer Consciousness and Soccer Hooliganism," (1971); John Clarke, "Football and Working Class Fans: Tradition and Change," (1978).

behaviors.[34] Violence was often an epiphenomenon of the social gatherings around football and the confirmation of masculine qualities.[35] The construction of rivalries also revolved around practices of identity formation: football fans affirmed who they were in conjunction with contrasting ideas of who they were not through the structure of oppositions in football rivalries.[36] Structural changes in the football industry, but also in the defining values of the working-class specifically, allowed for the expansion of violence among working-class youth. Processes of self-identification within a complex set of immediate and secondary contextual settings incorporated violence to bolster the masculine behaviors demanded by social incorporation into spectator groups. In addition to these factors, the increasing presence of police and the development of violent environments, as I argue later, contributed to the escalation of violence at football matches as well. The transition from generalized social anxieties to intensifying violence described below can be attributed to a combination of the above factors.

Incidents of football violence and moral panics should be situated within these general transitions, but also recognized as productive of similar social conflicts. When outbreaks of youth violence, often highly organized and increasingly complex, threatened gentrified ideals on a regular basis, the framework for moral panics based on ideas of

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[34] Gerry P.T. Finn, "Football Violence: A Societal Psychological Perspective," in Richard Giulianotti, Norman Bonney and Mike Hepworth, eds. *Football, Violence and Social Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[35] Gary Armstrong, *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score* (New York: Berg, 1998), 233.

[36] Richard Giulianotti, *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999); Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, "Constructing Social Identities: Exploring the Structured Relations of Football Rivalries," in Armstrong and Giulianotti, eds. *Fear and Loathing in World Football* (New York: Berg, 2001).

youthful exuberance and moral disintegration were already in place. When identifiable stylized groups, first the Skinheads and later the Casuals, became the recognizable face of classed football violence, condemnations of working-class subcultures were not only repeated but expanded. The perceived fractures in working-class communities justified the extension of state powers over the football industry and its working-class spectators, masked in the language of 'crowd safety', as simply another internal problem needing to be solved.

Terrace Culture and Community Life

Before addressing the violence that emerged in British football, the community life engendered by football spectatorship in the postwar era needs to be examined. Although after the mid-1960s new patterns of football violence materialized through close connections with football tradition and working-class associations, the non-violent relationships and collective experiences of spectatorship have received much less attention than football violence. Yet, understanding the forms of community networks that existed within football stadiums can offer a better understanding of the impact of later changes to physical environments and policing of both violent and non-violent football fans. A grasp of football community life is necessary to understand football violence, revealing that forms of collective violence within football arise out of a specific social context of class, gender and power. Furthermore, continuous analysis of working-

class violence can promote the idea of working-class men and women as universally or naturally violent. This section aims to provide a counterweight to such an imbalance.

Several oral history collections, assembled by fan associations and other enthusiasts for football culture, offer access to particular forms of memory about football experiences in the postwar era.[37] They also present the voices of fans who want to recall their own memories and share them with others. While mining these oral histories, then, one must recognize their inherent nostalgia and profound enthusiasm for football fan culture. Spectators also interpreted their memories through contemporary lenses, placing their recollections in narratives that reflected changes and events since the past occurrences they discussed.[38] Nonetheless, reading these interview excerpts provides insights into how working-class communities organized around football and the values they developed.

It would be wrong to mythologize football spectatorship as a golden era of working-class spectatorship that was relatively free of violence until the mid-1960s. Doing so would ignore the forms of territorial violence and disorder that have occurred in

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[37] Tom Watt, ed. *The End: 80 Years of Life on Arsenal's North Bank* (London: Mainstream, 1993); Rogan Taylor, Andrew Ward, and John Williams eds. *Three Sides of the Mersey: An Oral History of Everton, Liverpool and Tranmere Rovers* (London: Robson, 1993); Rogan Taylor and Andrew Ward, eds. *Kicking and Screaming: An Oral History of Football in England* (London: Robson, 1995). These oral histories offer very little, if any, commentary on the interviews they collect. David Robins also includes long interview excerpts, with some analysis, in David Robins, *We Hate Humans* (1984).

[38] For analysis of this phenomenon see Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

British football throughout the modern period.[39] Narratives based on such memories may misrepresent an ordered, harmonic past set against the disruptive and antisocial present age marked by youth dislocation and generational decline.[40] Any representation of changes in the cultural make-up of British football and British society must be understood within longer historical patterns as well as short-term contemporary changes.

Throughout, oral histories reveal that regular football spectatorship at a specific club fostered communities of fans who familiarized themselves with others readily, building associations that provided a sense of belonging. The ends, or terrace spaces where working-class fans stood and watched the matches, afforded an open arena for companionship based not only on shared affiliation with a specific team, but also mutual working-class values and affinity for local areas. In addition to watching the match, football spectatorship as a communal activity became part of the entertainment. Crowds developed into increasingly tolerant and accepting social groups, willing to accommodate all kinds of raucous behavior provided that any given activity didn't violate the general well-being and exuberance of the crowd. They also provided relief from the working week. As one supporter noted, "You had a five-and-a-half day working week, you'd had the war, people were getting over the war, they didn't have a lot of money in their

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[39] Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy, and John Williams, *The Social Roots of Football Hooliganism* (London: Routledge, 1988).

[40] See John Williams, "Having an Away Day: English Football Spectators and the Hooligan Debate," in Stephen Wagg and John Williams, eds. *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1991), 161-165.

pockets and it was their way of expressing themselves."[41] It became common for groups of men to attend the matches directly after the Saturday morning shift, and clubs scheduled the match times to accommodate labourers' schedules.[42]

Terrace communities provided common access to particular forms of sociability, especially for adult and adolescent men. Interviews reveal that community life became as important as the match for many of the supporters in various grounds in England. Men would meet hours before the matches began, to smoke and chat, read the paper, and catch up on local gossip.[43] Younger boys would meet outside the ground and play football in the streets, moving into the stadium when the match began.[44] Many reported that being spectators during their youth constituted a social gathering that they couldn't experience elsewhere.[45] Football offered a social setting equivalent to, and often acted as a substitute for, trade unions, friendly societies, churches and other forms of associational life.

Fans would also commit to certain sections of the terrace, returning to the same spots week after week. Doing so allowed them to become familiar with those regular attendees around them, even if many of the relationships remained merely informal:

> You went to the same spot on the terrace. You stood up…Couldn't afford to sit down, anyway, and you stood among people who were always standing in the

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[41] *The End*, 71.

[42] *Kicking and Screaming,* 12.

[43] *The End,* 83.

[44] Ibid, 82.

[45] Ibid, 108.

> same spot every week. I didn't know who they were, hadn't a clue where they lived, but at least you knew they were going to be there every week. Hello, hello, hello, hello and here we are again.[46]

Another fan added, "We all knew where we were going to go, so whoever was there first would save the spot. We got to know all the people who stood around us, so there was no problem getting into your space."[47] These internal constructions of physical space became part of identifying with the club, but also constituted the background for informal social networks and community ties. The 'spot' proved very important. It represented the particular social links that people forged over time, and for many, could not be replaced. "We stand about halfway down, just under the shelter, always the same spot. We've been doing it for five or six years. At work, at Cadbury's, we talk about it all day long."[48] The spaces people returned to week after week became associated with values of community solidarity as well as football allegiances.

These identifications with particular spaces of the terraces also became well known and understood as 'common sense' within the ends. Fans recognized these spaces as belonging to certain groups of spectators depending on age, sex, and general excitement. At Arsenal's Highbury Park, a stadium in north London, the division of space in the North Bank end provided ways for groups of similar fans to converse. Generally, the more excited, youthful fans congregated in the middle of the terrace, expecting a greater level of solidarity and frequent physical contact among supporters.

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[46] *Kicking and Screaming*, 12.

[47] *The End,* 150.

[48] *We Hate Humans,* 53.

Stewards would save spaces for children near the front, where the view would be clearer, if the club did not designate areas for children outright. Grown men and those wanting to watch the match more than tussle with their companions, moved towards the edges or the top, where interruptions were fewer. One fan described this eloquently:

> There was a migration as you grew up. At first, I'd stand behind the goal…And then you wanted to get into the North Bank, when you got bigger. If you could stand on the back you could, well, you were the accepted crowd. Then you tended to move back into the middle again and then out along the side. It was great over on the side. You know, you were still 17 but going on 40. You were close enough to the atmosphere to touch it but you were a bit remote from it, too. You had the atmosphere but you could watch the game.[49]

These internal divisions became common knowledge among regular attendees in the terraces. They allowed fans of similar ages and sensibilities to be concentrated in certain areas, and promoted the development of relationships.

Nonetheless, the internal divisions of space ensured that most men only welcomed women in specific areas, and many preferred that only men be allowed into the terrace communities. Working-class community life in British postwar football, as in many other social arenas, was thus rent by gendered divisions and ordered by masculine codes of conduct. Many interviews revealed that certain spaces became identified with women and others with male-only domains. Masculine convention of behavior ruled these spaces. One fan commented, "Football has traditionally been a male preserve. I've been on the North Bank plenty of times with women but while the majority of people on the North Bank, certainly the hard core, the topside and the middle are male, then it's still

[49] *The End,* 255.

going to be more of a masculine world."[50] Men tolerated rowdiness, lewd behavior and macho conduct as a matter of course on the terraces. They often disliked the presence of women and thus women often congregated up front or on the outskirts of the terraces. One man recalled, "In my time up there, you didn't get many women. Down the front you would but not up the back where we were." Gendered spaces for men and women allowed male and female companionship to take place in self-segregated spaces and allowed men to preserve masculine solidarity apart from women. It provided another social space, like the pub or the trade union, where women had to exist within a marginal space framed by masculine behavioral norms. As one male spectator noted, the male-dominated stands provided, "a way of life in which men found their niche because there weren't any women on the terraces in those days. It was a man's world."[51]

Men often expressed their consternation at women's presence through the social construction of the importance of knowledge about football. Men expected other men to know football, the game, the teams, the players, and the dynamics and strategies of the sport. Women needed to act similarly to men in order to belong. One female fan recalled, "It was like girls didn't go to football, girls didn't understand about football. It just wasn't the done thing. But we always used to sing…We'd take the piss out of the police."[52] Sexual harassment also occurred intermittently when men and women mixed it

[50] Ibid, 277-278.

[51] *Kicking and Screaming*, 12.

[52] *The End*, 278.

up on the terraces. One female usher used to roam the North Bank distributing tickets for lotteries and raffles at matches. One man recollected her treatment:

> She was a tall, fair-haired lady who used to wear a low-cut t-shirt. This prompted whistles of delight and appropriate sexist comments from the North Bank. People down front would rush forward to buy a ticket but stop about a yard short, thus forcing this lady to lean forward to sell the ticket – *aaahh!*[53]

Clearly, some areas in the ends proved extremely intimidating and unwelcoming to women fans. Sexual harassment and gendered spaces offered women less mobility and opportunities for community interaction than men. Women, as football spectators, needed to follow and often replicate masculine behaviors in order to belong.

Other women remembered more cordial behavior from their male counterparts. Men often acted chivalrously in their protection of women and children and their allocated spaces within the terraces. Several women recollected men allowing women to interact among their social communities. "The people around you, they'd always look after you, offer you sweets and fags or a cup of tea."[54] Groups of men, usually older, would ensure that women could see the match and tone down their language or raucousness when a woman appeared in their area.[55] When women or children felt uncomfortable in pushy or crowded areas, men passed them forward over and above the crowd to get them down to the front, to more controlled areas near stewards. This

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[53] Ibid, 277.

[54] Ibid, 278.

[55] Ibid, 276, 106.

became a common occurrence at several different grounds.[56] Nevertheless, terrace communities split along gender lines in many cases, where most men did not welcome women but accepted them in divided spaces and when they acted in conjunction within masculine conventions.

Despite the restrictions on women within this arena, fans of both sexes came to identify not only with the community relationships generated within the stadiums, but with the stadiums themselves. Fans across Britain created affinities with these places that came to represent the neighborhoods that surrounded them. Geographer John Bale effectively delineated the various ways in which football attendees connected to their home stadiums. Stadiums could operate as the focal point of the religious aspects of football spectating. In their repeated attendance fans often gave the football experience, mediated within the stadium as a cathedral, a sacred or liturgical character. Spectators often viewed attendance as a pilgrimage: "If somebody asked you if you wanted to stand on this blank piece of concrete, in freezing cold and snow, you'd think they were raving mad. But this was a pilgrimage. The best thing was going up those steps and seeing the pitch."[57] Fans also identified with stadiums as scenic spaces, where certain parts of the ground took on special significance through the creation of shared experiences within them. Most importantly, stadiums became the centerpieces of local and national pride. Fans benefited from building neighborhood and national identity within the stadiums, and

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[56] *Kicking and Screaming,* 61; *The End*, 81-83.

[57] *The End,* 98.

they did so in community.[58] The creation of meaning within these spaces helped not only to build personal identity but also collective identities within the football environment.

Most of these spaces, at least before the 1960s, were relatively free of the segregative practices and harsh policing methods incorporated in the later years of the postwar period. Fighting between fans, too, proved rarer in the early years of the postwar period. Interviews with Arsenal fans in North London again provide a sense of relations in the terraces. One fan stated simply, "All intermingled, you came to a game and you stood where you stood. Segregation didn't exist."[59] The segregation of fans supporting different clubs seemed unnecessary, and few clubs thought to separate fans when non-violent relations prevailed amongst groups of opposing fans. Another spectator commented, "You were all there mixed together with other supporters. Never any fighting that I saw. You'd argue, you know, but then at the end of the game, whichever team won, you'd just say: *Good luck!*"[60] When implemented later, segregative practices seemed intrusive and excessive to working-class spectators, and contrary to the general feeling of community engendered by participants. A strong police presence also proved superfluous: "People were calmer then: there was no pushing and shoving. Hardly any policemen to be seen."[61] One of Arsenal's esteemed chairmen, Ken Friar, recalled that,

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[58] John Bale, "Playing at Home: British Football and a Sense of Place," in Stephen Wagg and John Williams, eds. *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1991), 130-144.

[59] *The End,* 76.

[60] Ibid, 83.

[61] Ibid, 70.

"we used to run this place on two men and a dog," emphasizing the minimal police presence required to provide order.

The lack of an overbearing police presence allowed fans to work out minor disputes on their own. One Arsenal fan recalled always mingling among other groups of fans supporting rival sides, and how these groups quickly defused small altercations:

> There was an old drunk in front of me who was shouting abuse…and everyone was laughing at him, both groups of supporters, laughing at him, and suddenly he got angry turned round and pushed me over, because I was the nearest person to him. These Chelsea supporters all jumped in and jumped to my aid, you know.[62]

Members of the crowd routinely kept order in the stands, ensuring that emotional spectatorship rarely produced physical harm or unacceptable transgressions. Spectators often saw physical conflicts as a temporary distraction from a normalized environment. "I've seen a few things happening in the crowds all right," recalled another spectator. "Some people would lose their heads and the next thing, there's a kind of a fight, but it was stopped very quick. Some people would jump in and stop it. You might hear somebody lecturing them: 'Look, you came to see a football match, not to fight with one another,' and it stopped."[63] On several occasions, though, fist fights proved acceptable forms of conflict to other fans on the terraces. Men might engage in violence for short periods of time that did not disrupt the majority of the crowd. Fist fights often proved to be an acceptable form of masculine aggression acted out during the course of a game. One fan recalled that, "if there was a slight altercation (usually between two people) the

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[62] Ibid, 107.

[63] *Three Sides of the Mersey,* 68.

crowd would respectfully move away…and the punch-up would take its merry course."[64] The resiliency and perceptions of the immediate crowd determined which forms of violent behavior could be tolerated. Larger fights and obscene obnoxiousness transgressed the latent codes of conduct within terrace crowds. Small instances of controlled violence, monitored by the crowd and surrounded by it, allowed for intervention by other men if necessary.

As recalled by nostalgic fans, football spectatorship, before it became associated with violence and youth degeneration in the late 1960s, provided a means for neighborhood relationships and community building. These communities were sustained by repetitive gatherings at a central locale, the football stadium. Masculine codes of conduct, both violent and non-violent, regulated these environments and kept women on the fringes of spectatorship. The division of physical spaces within terrace areas provided a way of keeping fans with similar intentions and experiences in similar areas, fostering conversations and the upkeep of social networks. These communities eventually gave rise to greater levels of violence as the boundaries of acceptable aggression at football matches expanded.

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[64] *The End*, 107.

Forms of Disorder

As working-class football attendance became increasingly popular, disruptive activities by a minority of spectators triggered the concern of local police forces and the Home Office from the mid-1960s onward. The Home Office's own documents and police reports they commissioned provide a window onto working-class spectators' weekly activities. This section aims to elucidate the forms of disorder that proved threatening to the Home Office and local police authorities. These incidents are drawn directly from investigative police documents, witness statements, and reports from constabularies and club officials.

During the 1950s and early 1960s only a few police records regarding disruptive football violence reached the Home Office, the government's body for securing domestic order and keeping the peace. These records affirm popular memory, reflecting only minor violence at football matches prior to the late 1960s. The police reports also reveal that the offences committed were relatively minor. Whereas later police reports treated violence, vandalism, and conflicts with the police as a matter of regular and routine behavior at a match, reports from this period treat similar contraventions as extraordinary and limited.

Most transgressions involved the large numbers of crowds trying to cram into relatively small physical spaces inside the stadium. Spectators regularly mailed complaints about overcrowding and the maximum capacity of certain terraces to police stations. Fans at Stamford Bridge in Chelsea articulated their concerns throughout the

1950s about the ground's capacity and the failure of stewards and club management to cap the number of incoming fans when games drew large attendances.[65] Several of the larger football clubs continued to allow admission to paying customers, regardless of the limitations on viewing and standing made difficult by larger crowds. Hemmed in by the physical boundaries of the stadiums, spectators found other ways of watching the match and participating in the day's activities. Fans at Millwall in central London climbed light poles at a match in 1957 to watch the contest from above when spaces on the terraces proved sparse.[66] Fans at West Ham United in East London climbed on the roofs of neighboring houses and businesses which offered an elevated view of the match without having to pay for admission. When some of the fans fell through the roofs and into garages, damage to private property became a primary complaint.[67] One housewife reported that visiting fans routinely offered her five shillings to watch the match from her roof, and she didn't seem too bothered by the proposition.[68]

Bulging crowds also generated new problems within the terraces. Police duty agendas consistently listed monitoring turnstiles and the dissemination of crowds as top

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[65] See National Archives, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), MEPO 2/7992, police records regarding Chelsea Football Club and Stamford Bridge, 1947-1962.

[66] See witness statements of match between Newcastle and Millwall at Cold Blow Lane on 26 January 1957. In PRO MEPO 2/7991, police records from Millwall Football Club.

[67] Metropolitan Police report, East Ham Station, 20 June 1958, in PRO MEPO 2/8245, police records from West Ham United Football Club.

[68] Statement of Witness, East Ham Station, 23 April 1958, in PRO MEPO 2/8245.

priorities.[69] Fans crowded gangways and stairwells, and sat on the tops of dividing walls, especially those between the field of play and the terraces. Commanders often commissioned their officers to patrol inside and outside of stadiums looking for fans who may have gained entry without payment.[70] For the most part, police concerns involved illegal entry, crowd dispersement, and the odd disruptive fan. These relatively innocuous early incidents reflected few if any changes in the general composition or disposition of football spectatorship from the 1950s. The Home Office and police authorities expressed minimal concern.

The Home Office, the London Metropolitan Police, and regional constabularies soon became aware of other, more violent developments among youth spectatorship. By the late 1960s general disruptions and organized violence became more common at grounds around the country, raising public concern and attracting the interest of the state. The Home Office, a protean agency within the national government in charge of securing domestic policy and affairs, requested reports from the highest regional police authorities, the constabularies. The police reports that the Home Office gathered, and the correspondence attached to them, show increased anxieties in the late 1960s and 1970s. They authorized greater police spending and focused their attention on violent altercations and the raucous activities of groups of football spectators. The documentary record makes it clear that by the late 1960s the nature of football spectatorship and youth

[69] For example, see Metropolitan Police Special Duty document, East Ham Station, 27 June 1958. In PRO MEPO 2/8245.

[70] Ibid, p. 4.

involvement in it had changed drastically as the sport became increasingly associated with violence and disorder. Groups of fans identified closely with their team, and built associations based on their allegiance to particular teams from particular areas of England. This close identification lead to strong loyalties between groups of fans pledged to particular teams. Football matches provided an opportunity for groups of youths to engage in violence not tolerated elsewhere. It has been generally assumed that adolescent youths and males engaged in the majority of disruptive activities and organized football violence. Police records indicate that this is generally the case, although adults and women infrequently appear in arrest records. While the greater part of football-related violence stemmed from young working-class men, it is erroneous to assume that women and adults were never involved.[71]

Forms of disorder in the late 1960s ranged from missile and coin throwing to drunkenness and fights among fans. Police and state authorities expressed the greatest concern about pitch invasions, an early development in the array of disorderly activities. Fans would charge the field during or after a match for a number of reasons. Pitch invasions had traditionally been a way for spectators to connect with players and the club on special occasions. Young men also invaded the pitch to tease the stewards and police, and usually evaded punishment.[72] In one exceptional instance at the Tranmere club, near

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[71] For an example of records indicating adult and female involvement see the following reports as a representative example. Durham Constabulary Report, 7 March 1973, in PRO HO 287/2051; Greater Manchester Police Statement of Witness, 1 May 1975, in PRO HO 287/2053.

[72] See *The End,* 112, 130-131. One fan recalled, “I can remember running on the pitch when I was a kid. It was like a big thing to run on the Arsenal, to be on the Arsenal football pitch…I can remember all the old stewards running around with their arms outstretched trying to stop us doing it.”

Liverpool, a spectator jumped onto the field and spanked the goalkeeper as he was preparing to kick the ball.[73] Though many state officials disregarded pitch invasions as a silly form of hero worship, organized spectators sometimes invaded the playing field with more violent intentions.[74] In anticipation of an unfavorable result, fans often invaded the pitch in order to have the game cancelled. On one occasion in Newcastle in June 1969, nearly 3000 fans poured over the boundary walls, throwing bottles and trash onto the field, and refused to leave until the referee abandoned the game.[75] Other fans invaded the pitch to physically assault players of the opposing team. Nearly 1000 Chelsea fans fought their way through police lines to attack players of Luton F.C. at a match in 1975.[76] Some spectators attempted to harm the referee in the event of unfavorable decisions for their team. At Leeds in 1971, several fans attacked a referee during a match, leading to three arrests.[77]

Pitch invasions constituted not only a disruption to the match, but also represented a breakdown in the ordered world of policing and crowd control. This collective act indicated that spectators no longer respected the delineations of physical space instituted by club authorities and transgressed the boundary between the field and the terraces.

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[73] Undated, *Three Sides of the Mersey,* 154.

[74] The Lang Report 1969, p. 8.

[75] See Working Party on Crowd Behavior at Football Matches, Report of a Meeting at St. James Park, Newcastle, 2 June 1969, p. 2. In PRO HO 287/1500. This also happened later at Newcastle, in 1974. See *Kicking and Screaming*, 256.

[76] Bedfordshire Police Report, 3 September 1975, in PRO HO 287/2053.

[77] Leeds Police report, 20 April 1971. In PRO HO 287/2051.

While earlier invasions had been good-humoured, frequent violent instances revealed more rebellious and aggressive intentions. The transgression of pitch invasions not only indicated violent or unruly conduct, but also violated the revered distinction between the private space of the playing field and the public space designated for fans. During the early 1970s, pitch invasions occurred nearly every weekend, and they became the most noticeable activity of disorderly football spectators.

In addition to the emergence of frequent pitch invasions, the press and public officials gathered a wide array of activities under the umbrella term "hooliganism." Academics, too, have perpetuated the use of this term by intermittently attempting to define its scope and give it a closed definition.[78] The term came to represent a variety of activities, both within the stadium and outside of it, which proved threatening to the semblance of order instituted by police, stewards, and other official extensions of the state. On the terraces, surging and swaying amongst large groups of standing spectators became increasingly dangerous at some grounds. Swaying had been an acceptable form of fan behavior, especially during the match when excitement peaked. One spectator described it well, "There were vast wave-like movements of supporters tippling down the terraces, so much so that I began to feel seasick in the stands."[79] These movements

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[78] See Steve Frosdick and Peter Marsh, *Football Hooliganism* (Portland: Willan, 2005), 27-28 for a good discussion of the problems with defining the term. Others, most notably Eric Dunning and John Williams, have noted the imprecision of the term. See Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy and Ivan Waddington, "Towards a Sociological Understanding of Football as a World Phenomenon," in *Fighting Fans: Football Hooliganism as a World Phenomenon* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2002), 1; John Williams, "Who You Calling a Hooligan?" in Mark Perryman, ed. *Hooligan Wars: Causes and Effects of Football Violence* (London: Mainstream, 2001), 45-46. Nonetheless, many sports historians and contemporary sports analysts repeat and reinforce the normative connotations of the term.

[79] *Three Sides of the Mersey*, 66.

coincided with the excitement of the match, a consequence of particular incidents within the game. But some fans would push violently from the back of the crowd, often in unison, moving the entire crowd forward unexpectedly and causing pressure to mount at walls and barriers on the edges of the terraces. This often occurred, as this fan recalled, when a group of fans pushed on a group of opposing spectators: "There's, say, probably 40 or 50 of you, and you used to shout your team's name and you was behind them and you pushed forwards in the terrace and that was it."[80] Excessive swaying and surging, especially in capacity crowds, often could cause difficulty for fans attempting to keep their balance, avoid getting stomped, and find necessary air. One man remembered, "a night when there was too many people in there…If there had been pushing that night then what would happen was your chest would take it, the brunt of it if you was in front of a barrier. I wouldn't say I was frightened, but I was concerned. I mean I'm not going to faint but other people might."[81] Belligerent fans often transformed good-natured swaying into aggressive and violent surges that not only caused physical harm, but caused a more general feeling of anxiety in the terraces.

Other conflicts on the terraces included recurring violent encounters between opposing groups of fans. In the early years of increased football disorder, between 1968 and the late 1970s, rival supporters planned on meeting and fighting one another inside and outside the grounds. These conflicts were deeply associated with territorial values

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[80] *Kicking and Screaming*, 259.

[81] *The End,* 152.

and represented a localized form of territorial conflict. The most common form of territorial conflict within the stadiums was the infiltration of segregated areas. Eventually, as discussed below, police and club officials routinely segregated fans in order to prevent violence and keep rival supporters away from one another.[82] Breaking into the other spaces of the stadium became a rogue adventure that involved clandestine and patterned attacks. Fans would sneak into the areas designated for the opposing supporters and start a violent melee. One fan described the process:

> About 20 minutes before the game started, a hole appeared in this mass of red [Charlton's fans wore red] and it spread. It was like a stone being dropped into a pool and the ripples spreading out, and the ripples disappeared and it was all as it was before, but what came back was a mass of blue and then it was signing, 'Millwall, Millwall,' and that was the first time that I had seen an end being taken.[83]

In such confined and tightly packed spaces, spontaneous conflicts could drag in people who had no violent intentions, and cause collateral damage to those caught up in the action. Invading fans meant to raise anxieties and promote an environment of hostility and violence, allowing for their group to exert its control over specific spaces in the terraces. These territorial battles could go back and forth throughout a match. Some fans even invaded the pitch, crossed the field of play, and jumped over the barriers to invade the other team's section en masse, as occurred in Bristol in 1973.[84]

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[82] The subject of supporter segregation is covered in Chapter Three.

[83] *Kicking and Screaming,* 259.

[84] Bristol Constabulary report, 3 May 1973. In PRO HO 287/2051.

One of the earliest researchers into football hooliganism evaluated end-taking as the foundation of territorial conflicts between rival supporter groups. Through ethnographic study Peter Marsh found many of these violent invasions were merely repetitive and theatrical, rarely resulting in aggressive violence. Many spectators "bluffed" violence, he contended, through posture, empty threats, and blows intended not to harm, but to scare. Fans ran at each other but rarely intended to seriously hurt the opposition. What seemed an inherently chaotic and emotional world, he argued, turned out to be relatively well-ordered aggression, tempered by tacit social rules of conduct.[85] My research, in contrast, indicates that while certain social norms may have dictated acceptable and unacceptable forms of violence within the terraces, police and ambulance reports consistently revealed that violent conduct resulted in severe acts of physical harm. Though the conduct can often be characterized as ritual and repetitive, it also proved highly dangerous and physically threatening.[86] Several police reports indicate that conflicts between fans often involved various types of weapons. Bricks, pipes, and other found materials escalated the nature of the violence in very hostile situations. Stabbings, though much less common, occurred on occasion.[87] An air gun, though never fired, was

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[85] Peter Marsh, *Aggro: The Illusion of Violence* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1978).

[86] I am not the first to raise this criticism, nor to explore the detriments of ritualized violence in the terraces. See John Williams, Eric Dunning and Patrick Murphy, *Hooligans Abroad: The Behaviour and Control of English Fans in Continental Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1984); *Football on Trial: Spectator Violence and Development in the Football World*; Patrick Murphy, John Williams, and Eric Dunning, *Spectator Violence and Development in the Football World* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Richard Giulianotti, Norman Bonney and Mike Hepworth, eds. *Football, Violence and Social Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Gary Armstrong, *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score* (New York: Berg, 1998).

[87] Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary report, 1 March 1972. In PRO HO 287/2051.

also confiscated at one particularly heated match at Liverpool in 1972.[88] On average, for every large group of arrests made by police, usually totaling between twenty and forty persons, one or two were charged with possession of weapons.[89] Other scholars have emphasized the importance of territorial conflict among groups of competing spectators. The spaces which groups of fans inhabited and defended routinely on the weekend took on an ancestral significance, one which could not be menaced by outsiders. The defense of this territorial turf became a priority when fans would visit, often leading to pitch invasions and end-taking conflicts.[90]

These territorial conflicts attracted the attention of police patrolling the matches. Part of the experience for spectators involved intermittent conflicts with the police authorities present at the match. Territorial conflicts between groups of fans extended to spatial conflicts between police and spectators. The City of Oxford police commented that spectators frequently taunted officers, noting that fans regarded the interaction as "part of the afternoon's entertainment."[91] When a 1967 government inquiry sent out questionnaires to regional police authorities, requesting information on the relationships between the crowd and police, many remarked that fans were unwilling to help procure

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[88] Ibid, p. 2.

[89] See, for example, the various arrest files from West Midlands Constabulary and Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary in PRO HO 287/2051.

[90] David Robins and Phil Cohen, *Knuckle Sandwich: Growing Up in a Working-Class City* (Harmondworth: Penguin, 1978), 137; Dick Hobbs and David Robins, "The Boy Done Good: Football Violence, Changes and Continuities," *Sociological Review* 39:3 (August, 1991), 569-571.

[91] City of Oxford Police Headquarters, submission to Harrington Inquiry, 18 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

their violent or disorderly companions. In fact, fans often impeded police in their pursuit or identification of specific rule-breakers.[92] Supporters also threw missiles, stones, and coins at officers on duty at matches, repeatedly and consistently in certain cases.[93] While police officers usually stayed near the pitch or in gangways in effort to maintain order, when they entered the territory of the crowd they found a hostile welcome. The Chief Constable at Newcastle Upon Tyne City Police remarked that, "Police are fair game and are obstructed, abused and occasionally assaulted when taking action against a disorderly element." He added that, "we have been the target. In past years this was mainly good humoured as when snowballs are thrown to fill in the waiting before a game commences." Regrettably, he concluded, "we are someone to vent feelings on."[94]

As young men attempted to evade police prosecution, encounters could be exceedingly violent. One police report, from an incident inside the stadium at Swindon in 1976, provides an example of the regular hand-to-hand combat that policemen came to expect in the terraces:

> A youth at the front of the crowd was seen to throw his head back and spit in the face of a constable who had his hands full escorting a youth from the ground. A P.C. went into the crowd and managed to grab the youth who had spat but ten or twelve others prevented the Officer from making his arrest by pulling them apart and also by punching and kicking the P.C. until his hold on the youth was dislodged. One of the assailants then landed a violent blow with his fist full in the

[92] See the other submissions to the Harrington Inquiry in the above folder.

[93] Nottinghamshire Combined Constabulary, General Report, 29 April 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[94] Newcastle Upon Tyne City Police submission to Harrington Inquiry, 17 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

> Officer's face, causing his nose to bleed. The same man then kicked the officer in the back, the blow striking the lower part of the spine.[95]

Reports like this surfaced frequently, and officers came to regard such encounters as routine and unexceptional. The relationships between the fans and the police who regulated their behavior deteriorated, and violence between the parties escalated and became a normal fixture at football matches across Britain.

Spectators also clashed with authorities and each other outside of the stadiums. Police reports often recall attempts to enter the matches without paying for admission. At Ibrox Park in Scotland visiting fans often charged the turnstiles in groups, gaining entry to the park through force and the use of large masses of people.[96] Fans would also climb walls and use scaffolding from local construction jobs to scale over stadium barriers. Visiting fans often tried to gain entrance without payment, as the price of admission and a train ticket to the stadium could prove costly. Conflicts between groups of fans also occurred outside the stadiums on a regular basis. Groups of rival fans appeared at the matches with the expectation of a 'punch-up' or territorial conflict as repetitive violence became a staple at many grounds across England by the mid-1970s.

Visiting fans triggered the most consternation from local police officials. Groups of loyal fans followed their teams to away matches, and often made their vacation into an invasion of another English or European city. Upon their arrival, away fans frequently

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[95] Wiltshire Constabulary Report, Station D, Swindon Town F.C. vs. Northampton Town F.C., 3 September 1976. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[96] Working Party on Crowd Behavior at Football Matches, Report of Meeting at Ibrox Park, 16 June 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

stormed the city plazas and shopping centers of the cities they traveled to, announcing their presence not only to other fans, but to the rest of the area's inhabitants. One supporter remembered, "walking down the main road and suddenly a sea of youths came down the road…They virtually took the whole street over and that was the first time I really saw the power of all these youngsters getting together and frightening people."[97] These incidents were most likely to occur near railway depots, coach parks, or other areas where fans first exited their coaches or trains. One police report described the mayhem caused by a group of Manchester United supporters visiting Southampton for the day. After repeated unsuccessful attempts to charge the entrance gates, a group of 150 fans, "ran along three residential streets in the vicinity, jumped and danced on parked motor cars, kicked the panels and broke windscreens as well as throwing any moveable object they found ('no waiting' cones and the like) through the windows of the houses."[98] These random acts of violence did not require a purpose. Wreaking havoc and eliciting anxious and intimidated responses from local citizens, police, and other spectators provided its own reward. One fan remembered:

> Someone would see a hat in the back of a car and say, 'I like that hat,' and they'd smash the back window and take the hat…It wasn't particularly an act of violence, it was a ludicrous, hysterical act. Throwing a toilet out of a train window was funny. It's a set of surreal actions, to take a toilet out of an old train and through a window. When you're in a group and when you see this person walking around with a toilet, it's funny, and the toilet goes whooshing out of the window…We could walk up and down the High Street and everyone would look at us and everyone would be frightened of us and we wouldn't have to do very

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[97] *Kicking and Screaming, 255.*

[98] Hampshire Constabulary Report, 21 March 1977. In PRO HO 287/2053.

> much, just shout and swear a bit: 'You're gonna get your fucking heads kicked in.[99]

Indeed, broken windows in city plazas and in stores near football grounds provided the justification for the majority of police reports. Vandalism, especially to any building or business associated with the opposite football club, became extremely common.

Local police units frequently recognized the changing conduct of fans and the escalation of their violence. Officers recognized that spectators justified and carried out their violence because of club loyalties, and the reports and updates sent to the Home Office reflect local officials' disdain for the growing sense of team allegiance and organized violence. The constabulary from Dumfries and Galloway in Scotland remarked, "It is significant that the members of groups indulging in hooliganism are invariably below normal intelligence." Amidst a short tirade on their behaviors, he added that, "They are dedicated in support of a team and become wholly and completely identified with it. What happens to the team happens to them…if the team is beaten, they are also beaten and their ego is destroyed and consequently they seek revenge." This close identification with the club's fortunes led, he alleged, to unrestrained emotive aggressiveness: "They consequently let off steam gloating over the vanquished and vesting their high spirits on other people and property."[100] Though police could be exceedingly denigrating towards young spectators, they also acknowledged that their

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[99] *Kicking and Screaming,* 260.

[100] Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary, submission to Harrington Inquiry, 16 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

conduct reflected the solidarity of social relationships forged through football spectatorship.

Police forces also recognized and followed the increasing organization of spectator groups, which grew along with the other changes in football spectatorship. Several stations noted that leadership had emerged in specific groups, giving form and regularity to chanting, singing, and dress at matches. These groups, marked by stylized fashion and intense allegiance to the club, also involved themselves in violent conflict with rival supporters, especially when they traveled to away games. The Stoke-on-Trent City Police observed that they, "attend football matches intent on provoking trouble or looking for excitement, and it appears to be a game of follow my 'leader'. There is a certain degree of organisation."[101] These organized groups became more visible as football matches became places where youths engaged in violent conflicts that represented battles over club loyalties, class identification, and regional affiliations. The police and press first identified Skinheads as the cultural group linked to football violence, using their subcultural identity as an easy scapegoat for instigation. The newspapers and television news programs publicized their activities as well, giving Skinheads a visible arena through which to make their brand of working-class violence known.[102] Skinheads attended football matches weekly by the late 1960s, claiming the

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[101] Stoke-On-Trent City Police submission to Harrington Inquiry, 17 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[102] Dick Hobbs and David Robins, "The Boy Done Good," 564-565.

terraces as their home grounds, and defended them vigorously.[103] In Liverpool, police knew that groups of Skinheads engaged in "Trophy Hunts," where they would attack rival fans and steal their scarves, usually emblazoned with team colors and badges, and wear them on their belts to the match.[104] Police warned youth spectators trying to avoid violence to hide their scarves until inside the stadium in Manchester.[105] Police reports often mentioned local groups of Skinheads specifically, blaming rival groups for initiating violence both inside and outside the stadiums.[106] Police perceived conflicts between and amongst Skinheads to be of a different degree, decidedly more violent and capable of more damage to property and person.

Skinheads were not the only subcultural groups to engage in processes of group identification and territorial conflict at football grounds, but merely the first to be associated with it. Groups of football spectators and organized encounters, often noted by the press and academics as the central motivation behind football violence generally, became decidedly marked by the mid-1970s. As social conditions deteriorated with the British economic crisis of the early 1970s, football provided not only a weekly leisure but also increased excitement, release, and socialization through organized youth gangs. Social interaction and the excitement of violence provided adventure, escape, and community outside of typical relations within work or the family. 'Firms' of violent

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[103] See David Robins, *We Hate Humans*, 47.

[104] Letter to Home Office from Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary, 21 November 1970. In PRO HO 287/2051.

[105] Greater Manchester Police, Statement of Witness, 1 May 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[106] See West Midlands Constabulary Report, 26 September 1971. In PRO HO 287/2051.

football spectators developed around working-class social institutions like the local pub, neighborhood associations, and kinship networks—all of which were nurtured and sustained in the football environment.[107] Their activities encompassed a wide range of socially disruptive activities, from organized stormings of shops and city plazas to staged encounters with firms of other teams.[108] This new organization of football violence has been much studied, partly because it provided a recognizable face and sensational aspect to football violence which the media consistently publicized.

Football 'Casuals' also received an inordinate amount of attention from press and public. 'Casuals' represented a stylized and chic departure from other working-class associations, renewing aggressive relationships with other supporters and the police. Many Casual movements emerged in the late 1970s in large cities in the North and parts of London.[109] Identified by the blatant display of the latest trends and high-dollar fashion, Casuals expressed alternative claims on class identification. While Skinhead subcultures could be interpreted as reclamations of working-class identity through an emphasis on violent expressions and gritty lifestyles, Casuals have been read as the more fortunate beneficiaries of Thatcherite individualism. Lacking traditional opportunities for working-class cohesion, Casuals sought to expose their mild successes within ruthless

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[107] John Williams, "Having An Away Day," 166-168.

[108] For example, see report from Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary, 4 September 1970. In PRO HO 287/2051.

[109] Williams, "Having an Away Day," 173-175.

free market capitalism through costly outward signs of identification.[110] These groups became increasingly associated in the 1980s with racism and sexism, traveling extensively with their football teams as they played in Europe. Casuals represented the main threat to football attendance abroad and the problems associated with bringing football violence to the continent. They also provided a new form of self-identification through music, fashion, and consumption, based on the latent acceptance of social hierarchies within the working classes generated by Thatcherite social policy.[111] These issues will be elaborated in later chapters. Suffice it to say that Casuals and other football 'firms' represented the main thrust of organized football violence from the 1980s into the early 1990s.

Conclusions

This section has introduced the various forms of football violence, its organization, key figures, and contextual setting. Football violence emerged from an honored working-class community activity, built on social networks and shared leisure. As social conditions deteriorated in the 1960s and British society faced pressing questions of social welfare and labor competition, British working-class men and women chose football as an outlet for community development and social cohesion. Dissatisfied

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[110] For astute work on Casuals, see Steve Redhead, ed. *The Passion and the Fashion* (Avebury: Aldershot, 1993).

[111] Simon Frith, "Frankie Said: But What Did They Mean?" in Alan Tomlinson, ed. *Consumption, Identity and Style* (New York: Comedia, 1990).

with the social outcomes of incessant economic problems as working-class agendas received little attention in either political party, working-class men tested social formations within football spectatorship. From these social networks emerged increasingly organized and stylized violence, fueled by local allegiances and constricted outlets for expressions of discontent. Football became cemented in working-class life from the 1960s, but became increasingly associated with the more hostile aspects of working-class violence, emergent subcultures, and organized conflict as the postwar period proceeded.

Chapter Two- Moral Anxieties, National Mythologies and Football Violence

Several groups surrounding the football industry—including the clubs, police officials, the press, and the state—created a moral outcry surrounding the increasing outbreaks of violence among working-class youths. Though some scholars have researched the development of a moral panic in football, especially as articulated within the popular press, this chapter aims to contextualize the moral panic associated with football disorder within the political and social context of the late 1960s and 1970s.[1] While press discourse certainly contributed to the sensationalization of football violence, this cultural crisis cannot be understood without attention to the leading role of political rhetoric from moral entrepreneurs and police agents, who powerfully engaged the public and used football disorder to displace anxiety from the material to the cultural realm. Given their inability to effect improvement in British society and the football industry in material terms, politicians instead used the occasion to address the dilemma with discourses of propriety and respectability. The moral reactions against football disorder provided opportunities for British politicians from both parties to re-define and maintain ideas of nationhood, acceptable working-class conduct, suitable masculine behavior and

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[1] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (London: MacGibbon & Lee, 1972); Stuart Hall, "The Treatment of 'Football Hooliganism' in the Press," in Roger Ingham, ed., '*Football Hooliganism': The Wider Context* (London, Inter-Action Inprint, 1978); Gary Whannel, "Football Crowd Behavior and the Press," *Media, Culture & Society* 1 (1979), 327-42; Patrick Murphy, John Williams and Eric Dunning, "Soccer Crowd Disorder and the Press: Processes of Amplification and De-amplification in Historical Perspective" in *Football on Trial: Spectator Violence and Development in the Football World* (London: Routledge, 1990); Stephen Wagg, "Playing the Past: The Media and the England Football Team," in Stephen Wagg and John Williams, eds. *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1991); Steve Frosdick, "Beyond Football Hooliganism," in Steve Frosdick and Linda Walley, eds., *Sport and Safety Management* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999).

gentlemanly demeanor. Further, I suggest that the panic over football violence cannot be removed from the other cultural dynamics within British society, including concerns about lawlessness, moral degeneration, and the national ethos, in a time of economic struggle for working-class men and women.

Previous studies of moral discourses in football have mainly used newspaper sources, astutely analyzing the processes of news production, language, accuracy and selectivity.[2] Academic interest has also often focused on the question of how the press affected the levels and styles of football violence in the 1980s and 1990s.[3] Other scholars focus on the period after 1985 and Margaret Thatcher's inquest of football violence as the apex of the moral panic.[4] In contrast, this paper explores the rhetorical strategies used by responsible parties such as political leadership, police, and football authorities to demonize working-class spectators in effort to address social and cultural anxieties about football violence as it emerged as a significant political embarrassment in the late 1960s and 1970s. I also evaluate the intersections between working-class football disorder,

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[2] Specifically, see Hall, "The Treatment of 'Football Hooliganism' in the Press."; Gary Armstrong, Chapter Four in *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score* (New York: Berg, 1998).

[3] See Murphy, et.al., "Soccer Crowd Disorder and the Press," 117-126.

[4] Anthony King, *The End of the Terraces: The Transformation of English Football in the 1990s* (London: Leicester University Press, 1998), especially Chapter Seven. King argues that the moral panic came to a head in the 1980s with the Heysel disaster and Bradford fires, which resulted in Thatcher's request for the Popplewell Report. Gary Armstrong and Dick Hobbs claim that football "hooliganism" generated a moral panic similar to the anxieties surrounding "mugging" in the 1970s, detailed by Stuart Hall, Charles Critcher, Tony Jefferson, and John Clarke, in *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London: Macmillan, 1978). Armstrong quickly turns to his analysis of undercover policing. See Gary Armstrong and Dick Hobbs, "High Tackles and Professional Fouls: The Policing of Soccer Hooliganism," in Gary T. Marx and Cyrille Fijnaut, eds. *Undercover Police Surveillance in Comparative Perspective* (Boston: Kluwer Law International Press, 1995), 175-193. Both authors focus their attention on the construction of moral discourses surrounding football violence from the mid-1980s onward.

national mythology, and paternalist discourses. The combination of voices from several different groups of social actors—ministers in charge of sport, industry officials, and police agents—combined with press depictions to make such rhetoric particularly powerful. Though they often spoke in unison with the press, political and police agents had the power to affect outcomes directly. The central role of political ministers, especially Minister of Sport Denis Howell (1964-70 and 1974-9), cannot be understood without attention to the extant social and economic concerns within British society that moral commentators associated with football disorder.

While low levels of conflict had come to be expected at football matches by the late 1960s, intermittent outbreaks of football violence provided opportunities for politicians, the press, and the public to re-articulate their moral anxieties. A steady stream of incidents provided both Conservative and Labour administrations the opportunity to initiate new strategies for social control of working-class communities, generate political capital by seeming tough on public disorder, and extend their influence in the football industry. Football violence afforded fortuitous opportunities for political administrations to comment on the erosion of working-class youth values and their inherent emotional weaknesses as well. Their political arguments displaced responsibility for poverty and unemployment through the revival of Victorian discourses. Football commissions, generated by the Home Office and the Department for the Environment after successive high-profile violent episodes, provided the catalyst for concentrated political action and the generation of the source material used in this chapter.

Police officials and successive political administrations consistently distinguished between 'genuine' supporters and 'hooligans' articulated around perceived class differences. This distinction justified the developing spatial discipline and police techniques later used against 'undesirable' fans. Though football spectators from many different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds participated in football violence, government and security officials consistently generated public discourses of moral panic and social disintegration depicting working-class football spectators, and working-class youths specifically, as naturally and homogenously violent. Instead of researching and addressing the social background to working-class resentment, parliamentarians and the public alike articulated a variety of rhetorical arguments that aimed at minimizing the impact of unwanted social violence on the international image of Britain as well as the concerned political parties. Labour and Conservative members used these public declarations to generate political capital, and thus not only aggravated the moral concerns about football violence, but benefited from them. The first section of this chapter will examine the moral apprehensions football disorder generated and the historical actors who contributed to their formation.

The second section discusses how football disasters and working-class football violence, especially the initial instances of English deviance abroad, proved a pointed threat to British national mythology. This mythology contained several elements. First, football violence challenged the image that working-class men and women existed peacefully within a stratified Britain. British political administrations continuously assumed that the tenuous harmony between laborers and the middle-classes could be

maintained despite challenges from trade unions, immigration conflicts, and high levels of unemployment throughout the postwar period. Working-class spectatorship and conflict within British football threatened this mythology of cohesiveness. Second, British football violence disrupted the enactment of ideas of "Britishness" through the preservation of sporting values. Many commentators linked violence on the terraces to ungentlemanly behavior by players on the pitch. Through extending discipline on players and theatrically presenting models of proper masculine demeanor to working-class men, politicians hoped to inculcate spectators with impressions of temperance and respect for paternalist authority. Third, English football violence abroad, especially two high-profile instances in the 1970s, initiated prolonged debate about the image of Britons and the British nation on the Continent. Examining this arena of social conflict reveals how nationalist sentiments, gendered and class-based values, and working-class violence intersected in a well-publicized and globally visible British tradition.

Analyzing the Moral Panic

Moral panics have been the subject of significant research by sociologists concerned with the interaction of systems of representation with social and cultural tensions, fueled by sensationalized reporting and the intermittent perceptions of breakdowns in social order. The concept cannot be taken as self-evident. Moral panics, loosely defined, take the form of persistent campaigning by several interested parties—in this case the press, concerned politicians, football authorities, and police specialists—that

appeal to sections of the public who appear alarmed at perceptions of social and cultural disorder. The moral boundaries, including which behaviors are considered immoral, and the prescriptions for more 'proper' conduct, always remain flexible, unclear, and often negotiated. Politicians often capitalize on these overgeneralized public sentiments with legislative or punitive measures that aim to neutralize the perceived threat.[5]

These consistent cultural fears, especially those about 'yob' or 'hooligan' culture threatening British respectability and decency, have long historical roots dating back to the preindustrial period. Narratives of decency and stability within a Britain characterized by emergent moral deterioration and criminal violence prove consistently anachronistic and imaginary. In each successive time period the characteristics of respectability and civility that seemed 'commonsense' to social elites were consistently challenged by successive waves of disruptive elements within the social fold. The present depicted in social discourse, whether during the Victorian concern with the moral outcomes of employing youth in industrial society, or the postwar concern with youth subcultures, repeatedly neglected Britain's cultural inheritance and threatened the 'British way of life'. In these declensionist storylines, the erosion of social discipline could only be resolved through recovering the mythological characteristics of Britain's previous 'peaceful' period. Social commentators ignored the historical consistencies of crime and social disruption in every period as they nostalgically sought to regenerate a moral and ordered society. The employed idioms of change could only be counteracted with

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[5] An excellent, near-comprehensive summary of approaches to moral panics is given by Kenneth Thompson, *Moral Panics* (London: Routledge, 1998).

vocabularies of continuity if Britain was to recover from the perceived resurgence and acceleration of hooliganism and crime.[6] With each prescription for renewing national moral health the moral repertoire of proper conduct increased.

In the postwar period, the regular concentration on perceived affluence and moral deterioration among working-class youth produced initial theoretical conceptions of moral panics. The first study took as its subject the media-fueled moral disquiet with two competing youth subcultures, the Mods and the Rockers, in the mid-1960s.[7] Identifying the elements of a moral panic, scholars helped to demystify the interested parties and political uses of accelerating apprehensions with social deviance surrounding the two groups. Panics generally involved the identification of a 'folk devil'—the very term used indicated a threat to civil righteousness—by the political right, journalists, or other socially accredited experts. The media exacerbated concerns within Britain by making the young culprits easily identifiable by calling attention to a number of external markers.

Marxist scholars have also revealed the complex interactions between deviant youths and social elites acting as moral police, and how they are shaped by socio-economic pressures and press coverage. Social structural changes created disparities in

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[6] Geoffrey Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (London: Macmillan, 1983).

[7] Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. Middle-class Mod culture, symbolized by tailored suits, scooters, and jazz music, indicated an acceptance of modern affluence and international influences. Their rivals, Rockers, adopted styles typical of motorcycle gangs, including leather clothing and 1950s rock-and-roll. Outbreaks of violence between the two groups on holiday seaside resorts sparked widespread anathema for these youth subcultures. Cohen's study developed on the initial idea of a 'moral panic' by his colleague, Jock Young, who investigated public anxieties in the moral panic over drug abuse. See Jock Young, "The Role of Police as Amplifiers of Deviance: Negotiators of Drug Control as Seen in Notting Hill," in Stanley Cohen, ed. *Images of Deviance* (New York: Penguin, 1971).

power and economic inequalities between the social agents creating moral panics and the subjects of them. The Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies deftly decoded youth subcultural resistance through symbolic interpretations of style and attitude, provoking reactions from the bourgeois public.[8] Stuart Hall and others' examination of mugging, racism, and moral panics also helped to reveal processes of signification and sensationalization among the British press.[9] Hall also exposed the simplified representation involved in media coverage of early football violence. He astutely argued that press coverage of football disorder catalyzed public opinion, and mobilized, "support for certain lines of preventive, remedial or controlling action."[10] The national press succeeded in granting urgency to the problem by pushing sport to the forefront of the news production cycle through specific selections and sensationalized presentations of violent incidents. News reporters amplified the seriousness and scale of the problem they set out to remedy, and in the process ignored the social context and cultural struggles that produced violent negotiation.[11] The negative signification and amplified impressions imparted to the public by the press invigorated disdain for unruly football spectators and became the primary engine for distributing information about the events in question.

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[8] Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds., *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Sub-Cultures in Post-War Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1976). The collection presents various works by members of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, which aimed at theorizing processes of representation, signification, and the decoding of youth subcultures.

[9] Stuart Hall, Charles Critcher, Tony Jefferson, and John Clarke, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

[10] Hall, "The Treatment of 'Football Hooliganism' in the Press", 16.

[11] Ibid, 17-20, 24-26.

However, in addition to examining press discourses, the role of government and police perspectives in shaping the moral anxieties surrounding football violence must also be understood. While others have examined the editorializing aspects of the press, it must be recognized that the press often conveyed discourses initiated by government and football authorities. Government officials, football regulating bodies, and police agents dictated the themes of widespread cultural distress and moral degeneration about football spectators. State actors' use of violent language and militaristic rhetoric in describing football spectators' behavior legitimated the threats of violence used by the public and the state to counter these activities. In both the press and government debates, violent discourse could be appropriated against violent subjects within a constantly exacerbated economy of language as an address to increasing moral uncertainty. Government ministers and football authorities depicted football 'thugs' first as aggressive and threatening to civil society, and subsequently at war with the authorities and disciplinarians that policed them. Parliamentarians led the police, the public and the press in promoting a repertoire of disdainful labels that registered spectators as timelessly and inherently violent subjects. Their paternalist discourses focused on denigrating unruly football spectators as young, working-class, and deviant. By positioning spectators as menaces to civil society and social respectability, government officials could position themselves on the side of discipline, order, and control in a two-sided battle for the moral landscape of Britain.

Increased moral apprehensions about football violence in the late 1960s and 1970s obfuscated the social and economic hardship working-class spectators experienced.

As shown in the first chapter, throughout the period local and global economic trends combined to exact economic hardship on working-class families. Football leisure provided an affordable and available social outlet where community-based loyalties could be developed, negotiated, and tested through violent encounters by working-class spectators. Such activities not only provided a channel to express social tensions, but also became productive of community development and social cohesion on the local level. Football spectators used football as an arena to negotiate new collective social formations, many of which became aggressive and hostile to one another. Nearly all political discussions during the period failed to recognize the social agency of these activities, and instead focused their discussions on the cultural and moral impact of their violence. Successive governments neglected to provide material improvement to working-class livelihoods throughout the period. Rather than recognize the interplay of social tensions and new social formations within the football arena as a response to economic conditions, politicians battled against the perceived threat to British culture embodied in fans' behavior. Exacerbating extant moral concerns with a new thematic element of football violence subtly disregarded the material hardship faced by working-class men and women, and instead demonized them as cultural deviants.

Of course, recognizing the disproportionality of elevated moral anxieties does not neglect that violence occurred repeatedly. Some have expressed concern that analyzing the outbreak of the moral anxieties surrounding football violence neglects the severity

and incidence of violent episodes.[12] Furthermore, labeling any phenomenon a 'moral panic', scholars argue, invites an emotional response that connotes anti-rationality and polemicism, and ultimately ignores the measure of deviant activity.[13] Rather, analyzing the development of moral discourses within their local and national contexts reveals the multiple subjectivities involved in state discourse, political strategy, and the construction of moral principles within bourgeois society. Examining the polemicism inherent in the policing of moral boundaries further elucidates how disruptions like football violence afforded opportunities for a variety of social actors to re-address notions of safety, civility, and respectability. Attempts at establishing the frequency and degree of football violence must be accompanied by analysis of the social discourses that surround them.[14]

The Moral Panic in Social Context

As several scholars have pointed out, concerns about moral boundaries do not arise out of a social vacuum. They are conditioned by social relations and can be influenced by tangible changes in social composition and disordering events. These moments of rupture that instigate re-evaluation of contemporary moral standards usually draw on other extant social anxieties and reflect deeper fears about the more general

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[12] James Walvin, *Football and the Decline of Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 51.

[13] See P.A.J. Waddington, "Mugging as a Moral Panic: A Question of Proportion," *British Journal of Sociology* 37:2 (1986), 245-59. Waddington wrote, in part, as a response to the arguments by Stuart Hall et.al. on the moral panic over muggings in Britain.

[14] Thompson, *Moral Panics,* 11-12.

onset of 'troubling times'.[15] In fact, the ensemble of moral alarms, "appear to draw upon, recirculate, and rearticulate cultural thematics and symbolic linkages that have earlier, recurring, and continuing incarnations."[16] Episodes of moral panic should be analyzed not as discrete events but as integral to ongoing historical processes of moral revision that periodically reveal new divisions and new concerns about multifaceted social relationships.[17] Thus, moral discourses must be analyzed with an eye toward continuity and change, not as perpetual or timeless, but shaped by local configurations and new social fissures that indicate recent themes of concern.[18]

In the first decades after the war, concerns with subcultural groups overlapped with the proliferation of violent football-related activities and discourses of the moral deterioration of youth. As early as 1957, local newspapers blamed Teddy Boys for thrown missiles and pitch invasions.[19] Decades later, the identification of 'Skinheads' as principal instigators within groups of community-based fans and traveling ensembles

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[15] John Clarke, et. al., "Subcultures, Cultures, and Class," in Hall, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 71-73.

[16] Sonya O. Rose, "Cultural Analysis and Moral Discourses: Episodes, Continuities, and Transformations," in Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 217-238. Quote from 223.

[17] Ibid, 223-224. See also Pearson, *'Hooligan': A History of Respectable Fears.*

[18] Sonya Rose follows Foucault's prescription for analyzing archaelogical continuities: "Discourses are embedded in contemporaneous networks of meanings and social relationships, with their own histories of transformation, that come together in a specific combination and are thereby mutually reconfigured. Thus while particular cultural themes may be repeated, each repetition has new resonances and produces new meanings and effects." In "Cultural Analysis and Moral Discourses," 229. She acknowledges Foucault's balance of rupture and reappropriation in discursive formation. See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge & the Discourse on Language* (Pantheon, 1969, 1982), especially Chapter One.

[19] Murphy, et.al. "Soccer Crowd Disorder and the Press," Murphy, et.al. examined the *Leicester Mercury* to discuss the trends in press performance over long historical periods.

concretized the associations between youth subcultures and violent activity. Football violence, both within and outside individual subcultural groups, helped to activate press concerns about community-based violence, not least because of England's imminent hosting of the World Cup in 1966. Several press outlets demanded strict control and proper behavior from local communities of fans in the build-up to the international tournament. In 1964 the Daily Mail warned that, "Eighteen months from now the widespread and curious world of Association Football will look at the game in the land where it was born. They will shudder to see how tired, worn, even wicked it is."[20]

The media certainly played a large part in giving social meaning to football violence. In order to make sense of a series of chaotic and disruptive events, the press engaged in processes of identification and contextualization that situated specific events into groups of like social problems. This selective presentation of news organized patterns of discourses that conveyed recurrence and continuity of disruptive events within a common stock of social assumptions.[21] Thus football spectators became associated with 'hooligan' or 'yob' culture in general. The set of disruptions specific to the football setting were reported as consistent with other challenges to civil society and proper moral conduct like youth subcultural groups, especially when activities specifically involved 'Skinhead' participants. A *Times* article revealed these methods of social identification and contextualization:

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[20] *The Daily Mail,* 16 December 1964.

[21] Hall, et. al., *Policing the Crisis,* Chapter Three, especially pp. 53-56.

> The skinheads are young working class youths (they are normally aged about 15 to 17) who wear short hair—but not always cropped—jeans with braces, and heavy boots. They have been hanging around in gangs for about a year. They are often football supporters…Their favourite recreation is 'aggro' (aggravation) which means fights—at football matches…In London they tend to dislike Pakistanis and Indians.[22]\

Such a vivid description not only labels and typifies the subcultural participant, but allies him/her with other widespread social concerns, most notably the outbreak of football violence and persistent racial tensions in the late 1960s.

Though the media became the public outlet for moral fears about football violence, cultural and social debates about football violence originated from other social agents. Parliamentarians, police, and football industry regulators mediated conversations about football violence and its place in British society. Government ministers, especially those at the Home Office in charge of domestic order, closely monitored any social disruptions, and considered causes for their common genesis. They situated football violence as one of several political and moral issues related to law and order. Home Office press summaries clearly reflect these contextual connections. Prepared as general memos to inform Home Office representatives of the latest and most persistent news topics, they indicate the matters that the state's watchdog agency followed. The Summary from 26 September 1969 can serve as a representative example. Couched within a number of topics is a section with the heading "Soccer Hooliganism." It began with a general statement that the papers were following meetings between police and court authorities and local government councils, especially in the London area. It

[22] *The Times*, 3 September, 1969.

recounted the focus of each paper, noting that the, "*Guardian* and others report that the football supporter who was sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment for assaulting a police officer is to appeal the sentence." It also recorded that the, "*Times* and *Daily Telegraph* report yesterday's comment by the senior law lecturer at Watford College of Technology that 'we have relaxed too readily and too quickly our legal sanctions and deterrents against violence'." More important than the papers' focus on policing spectator conduct are the other headings that surrounded the summation of the days' news on football disorder. Under the heading "Public Order," the Home Office reported that several papers were covering the disturbance caused by a "hippy squat" at Clerkenwell. The summary also listed a quote from the *Daily Telegraph's* interview with a judge of London Sessions: "Show the birch to a hippy or skinhead and you show him the light and the way back to respect." The selections revealed the Home Office recognized the punitive rhetorical responses to social discontent, but more importantly that they looked at each social anxiety ('soccer hooliganism', 'hippies', 'skinheads') as only a part of a more holistic framework of law and order concerns within domestic society. The Home Office, here and elsewhere, made both rhetorical connections and concrete associations between the different elements of a widespread context of moral anxieties.[23] Though each topic was treated independently, the recurrence of these and similar headings litter press summaries from the late 1960s, indicating that discourses of football violence were deeply embedded in other cultural themes.

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[23] See Home Office Press Summary, 26 September 1969, in PRO HO 287/1500.

Suggestions submitted to the Home Office in the early 1970s also allow us to discuss how the public experienced the moral panic over football violence. Howell's committee composed a laundry list of suggestions from the public that indicate the ways in which they too funneled disparate social problems into a framework of collective civil decay. Several of their suggestions presaged the architectural changes that British football stadiums underwent in the following decades. In addition to changing the seating arrangements and increasing ticket prices to subtly exclude working-class fans, other suggestions, including vertical pens, electric fences, and fan segregation provided more direct means of defining political space within the stadiums. One documented suggestion asked for a combination of, "moats, dye-sprays, fire hoses, and water cannons," to maintain order at matches. Others focused on forms of cultural practice associated with football spectatorship and working-class youth specifically. Some suggested the removal of alcohol from football, but also a ban on team colors, team scarves, and other representative favors that expressed team loyalties and were seen to exacerbate community conflicts. One suggestion noted that the, "abolition of pop music (which depraves)," would aid in the elimination of football violence. Many called for heavier punishments, birching, and heavier detention sentences to deter such behavior.[24] Public submissions emphasized weeding out undesirable youth rebellions by addressing an extensive array of cultural fears and socially disruptive behaviors through harsh punishment and localized confinement. Football violence became enmeshed in a larger, more ubiquitous framework of moral anxiety.

[24] PRO HO 300/112, file 27. Suggestions from Public to Home Office, undated.

Football authorities, too, echoed these sentiments by lashing out against football violence as a social evil, and not merely a sports issue. Their reaction, primarily, served a practical purpose. Football disorder in the cheap terraces could discourage other fans from paying for the more expensive seats at matches, thus decreasing Football Association and club revenues. Football hooliganism also surely contributed to declining attendance in the 1970s. The clubs often fielded criticism from politicians, the public, and the press as the prime culprits in allowing football violence to continue unabated. Football violence threatened their longevity and prosperity as businesses, but also the public image of football generally. Clubs deflected these criticisms in different ways, most often by publicizing anti-violence warnings within club programs and on loudspeakers at stadiums. At Celtic in Glasgow, the club's newspaper chided, "If you think your violent acts or obscene songs somehow contribute to the advancement of Celtic—FORGET IT. Celtic want none of you – and we appeal to the thousands of decent fans to help us in our efforts to see that sanity prevails."[25] Football figureheads also made more explicit calls for football violence to stop, again linking their specific complaints to larger moral discourses. Walter Winterbottom, former England national team manager and director of the national Sports Council, held a strong voice in the governance of British football, and served on Howell's Working Party. After spotting a spectator carrying an axe at a match he attended, Winterbottom remarked,

> It pinpointed the fact that in a violent society people become violent. There is a feeling not only that something has got to happen to control these people but you

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[25] *The Celtic View*, 12 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/2052.

> have to decide on an important balance between what good comes from freedom in society and what evil comes from it. A violent section of the community is using football to express their violence. Football must inevitable suffer.[26]

Rhetorically, Winterbottom wanted to separate respectable football from disreputable violence, a lively national tradition from the ignominious aggression that tainted it. Though football authorities received pressure from other social groups invested in the moral panic, they also contributed to its escalation.

Interest Groups and the Articulation of British Morality

Traditionally, professional groups such as religious associations, social workers, teachers, and police authorities also fuel moral panics in effort to maintain security and career longevity within their own professions.[27] A number of interest groups and bureaucratic agencies, each with their own complex of shifting and competing political agendas, also attempted to influence the social landscape by publicizing football violence as a moral dilemma.[28] The composition of such groups ranges from grassroots movements to established political lobbyists.[29]

First, the strongest moral language came from organizations that developed in order to combat violence through sport. Like anti-racist groups in subsequent decades, many anti-violence organizations used sport as an entryway into moral education. The

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[26] *Daily Telegraph*, 26 August 1974.

[27] Thompson, *Moral Panics*, 7.

[28] Philip Jenkins, *Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1992).

[29] Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance* (New York: Blackwell, 1994).

Home Office received several letters from the Association Internationale Contre La Violence Dans Le Sport, a Paris-based international organization, which formed in 1972 after several incidents of sporting violence in both France and England. Its self-described main initiative was, "to encourage and reward the spirit of fellowship and sportsmanship of the child," and to, "spare no effort in improving the child's attitude in his relationship towards others." This could be achieved through, "a re-education of players and spectators, too often unable to keep their self-control." The Association aimed at instilling moral education through lessons in violence available in the contemporary football environment. "The very harmony of the family circle and everyday life is in the balance," director Charles Drago argued, because of the persistence of football violence.[30] The links between the moral education of Britain's youth and the development of football disorder could not be clearer to many anti-violence groups.

Second, police organizations and police attitudes collapsed germane social concerns into a general milieu of youth insubordination. The cover of *Police* magazine promised an investigative report into "Hippies and Hooligans" in a 1969 issue. The police reporter showed disdain for nearly every social group involved. The unnamed reporter introduced the report with a brief account of the forced removal of hippy squatters from an abandoned Russell Square squat: "It was a copybook example of decisive police work and showed the public that the law of the land can still be enforced

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[30] Charles Drago, Association Internationale Contre La Violence Dans Le Sport, "A Reason To Hope," english translation sent to Denis Howell, April 1976. In PRO HO 300/113.

– a fact which many people were beginning to doubt." The reporter continued with a description of what the police found upon clearing out the building:

> When the hippies moved out, every room was ankle deep in filth, including human excreta; every lavatory was blocked, obscenities were scrawled on every wall, and dozens of hypodermic needles were found. A month after the occupation, the stench left behind by the beautiful people still contaminated the air. The most nauseating aspect of current events is the way in which these motley groups of work shy spongers are cashing in on public sympathies for the genuine plight of homeless families.

The report called on classic strategies of defamation and deprecation to typify 'hippy' youths, associating them with drugs, unhygienic filthiness, and laziness. It also divided the groups involved into Manichean sectors of good and evil, wise police and misguided youth. Protesting sympathetic press coverage, the reporter chimed that, "the latter is not the victim of anything, except his own self-pity, arrogance, or inadequacy." Finally, the police represented their moral position as self-evident and universal among British civil society: "They must know that the vast majority of the British public does not give a damn about the hippies, except to wish that there was something that could be done to get rid of them."[31]

Palpable derision toward disobedient youths can also be detected in the supplementary article on football disorder. Ted Deighton, Secretary of the Leeds Joint Branch Board of Police wrote an editorial on the social problem drawing on similar cultural fears and rhetorical formations. Deighton vehemently recounted the social ills associated with football disorder: "Week after week, season after season, the problem

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[31] "Why Waste Words on the Wierdies," *Police: The Monthly Magazine of the Police Federation* 2:2 (October 1969), 12-13.

becomes worse…Today in most towns and cities where there are reasonably successful football teams, violence, hooliganism, and vandalism are on the increase…What is the mystic source of soccer hooliganism? Is it pot, pop, beer or what?" The writer only offered that some arrestees were drunk or high, but did include that, "the noise of the jungle beat going full blast has an effect on the crowd." This odd inclusion of the influence of pop concerts again revealed that football violence could be associated with a broad array of social fears of youth insubordination and moral depravity. Noting that "self-discipline [was] becoming less and less evident," Deighton blamed the press for amplifying the level of behavior: "One has only to see the publicity given, for commercial reasons, to sex, pop noises, and other so-called modern entertainment, to see that there is a line of association between this [football disorder] and vandalism." Like hippies, unruly football spectators also constantly engaged too much of the police's time and attention, further encouraging crime in other social arenas. Thus, deviant youths not only engaged in criminal acts but encouraged them in other settings.[32] The impression of a pervasive social malaise permeated this police perspective, coalescing different elements of a repertoire of anxieties into a common thread of antiauthoritarianism.

Questionnaires returned to the Harrington commission, one of the first social research projects into football disorder supported by the Home Office, also reflected prevalent police attitudes.[33] Though many police reports to the central government

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[32] "Close the Ground," in *Ibid,* 16-17.

[33] The Harrington Report, conducted by a group of social psychologists led by J.A. Harrington, was sanctioned by the Home Office during the 1966-67 football season. It aimed at providing the government with a quick but usable description of behaviors and attitudes towards football violence. Central to the

maintained a fair objectivity in asking for greater resources or commenting on the increasing or decreasing levels of activity, others made explicit moral statements. One verbose chief constable in York laid out many of the contemporary moral and mythological themes present in many of the submissions. When asked about the 'seriousness' of the problem he replied: "The problem of hooliganism is clearly a serious one and is obviously not unconnected with the modern trend of disregard for authority, a complete lack of thought for others and the result of the widespread lowering of moral standards." On the age of majority of defenders he responded, "I would not suggest the trouble makers are solely teenagers although they seem to form a majority but there is often included older persons who should know better and set a better example. What all have in common is a complete lack of discipline, self respect and sportsmanship." Again, the constabulary situated the problem at hand within larger moral themes of disrespect for authority, relevant not only to youth but pervading 'society' generally. Like nearly all of the police submissions, he ultimately recommended stiffer punishments and encouraged the Home Office to ask magistrates' courts to impose them.[34]

Like other interest groups, the police often found the press an annoying contributor to the dilemma. One policeman in Aldershot commented that, "Press and other reports usually angled to create sensation, even in minor matters. Such reporting

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commission's research was a questionnaire sent to all British constabularies. The returned questionnaires, usually accompanied by longer attachments and personal correspondence from police authorities, provide an excellent cache of evidence on police attitudes and perceptions of football disorder.

[34] Letter from Chief Constable's Office, Law Courts, York to Harrington Commission, 18 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

does, in my view, tend to foster the problem."[35] Police reports from areas where football violence was not a serious problem tended to find that the press exaggerated the degree of violence and blew inconsequential conflicts out of proportion.[36] Others found that the press misused police information given to them. "There is a certain amount of exaggeration by the press," the Chief Constable in Sheffield wrote, "and it is the case quite often that press enquiries are received before a game in an attempt to find out what action is being taken by the Police, the intention being to 'write up' a story which will attract attention."[37]

Third, while both the press and the police surely shaped the moral discourses and social anxieties about football violence, politicians and ministerial administrators had a massive impact on the acceleration of fears as well. From the late 1960s onward, beginning with the construction of the Harrington commission, both Conservative and Labour factions remained deeply concerned with the outbreak of football violence. Several highly publicized incidents of football violence and football disasters occasioned opportunities for MPs to accuse the reigning administration of a failure to act on the lasting issue of football violence.[38] Politicians, especially those with responsibility for sport and culture in Britain, made sure that the topic was debated several times a year.

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[35] Submission from Hampshire Constabulary to Harrington Commission, 24 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[36] See for example, Submission from Kent Count Constabulary to Harrington Commission, 9 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[37] Submission from Sheffield and Rotherham Constabulary to Harrington Commission, 17 October 1967. PRO HLG 120/1465.

[38] See Appendix.

These events ensured that the issue remained in the public discourse throughout the 1970s, receiving attention from press and the public intermittently.

Each party showed alarm at the prospect of losing voters who supported football and despised the recent changes within the football environment. Politicians issued disdainful public statements against football disorder and shared the moral apprehensions expressed by the public. Parliamentary debates and Home Office correspondence reveal politicians' attempts to capitalize on public sentiments throughout the late 1960s and 1970s. Beginning under the first Harold Wilson administration (1964-70), debates about football violence engaged Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, and many other Parliamentarians. Political discussions continued under Edward Heath (1970-74) and Wilson's second term as the Safety at Sports Ground Bill emerged. The Bill aimed at providing a safer entertainment environment through measures against crowd control and efforts towards stadium modernization.[39] Though the questions raised often attacked members of the opposite party, the elements of political rhetoric present shaped the moral panic surrounding football violence. Furthermore discussions within the Labour party revealed the widespread social anxieties that pressured local politicians.

MPs wanted the Home Office to recognize and address two interrelated concepts. First, violence had by the late 1960s become excessive, and now politicians requested more acute governmental attention. Politicians consistently brought the issue of football violence before the House throughout the 1970s as the level of violence failed to abate,

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[39] For a further discussion of the Safety at Sports Ground Bill and its implications for physical space division, see Chapter Three.

despite the formation of several special committees to address the issue. Second, violence amongst working-class spectators now impinged upon football as a leisure and weekend entertainment for British citizens, leading to decreased attendance at stadiums nationwide throughout the next decade.

Politicians first wanted to acknowledge that sporting leisure for bourgeois attendees had become a dangerous and dislikable endeavor. In an early discussion in 1967, Labour MP William Price from Rugby asked Jenkins if he was, "aware that this is becoming a major social problem which needs urgent Government action? Will he do all he can to deter this small minority of thugs and hooligans who are bringing this game into disrepute and at the same time ruining the enjoyment of hundreds of thousands of people?"[40] Politicians wanted to make evident to the public that the government recognized the problem as a serious one and empathize with their annoyance at having their entertainment interrupted. Kenneth Lomas, Labour MP for Hudderfield West hounded Dick Taverne, the Undersecretary for the State, asking the Home Office to recognize that the party had a serious issue to address. He bluntly stated, "Thousands of people have their recreation at football matches ruined by hooliganism."[41] Nearly eight years later, Labour MP Dan Jones expressed a similar sentiment, almost verbatim:

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[40] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 745 (27 April 1967), col. 1803.

[41] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 751 (26 October 1967), col. 1864.

"Thousands of people are deterred from viewing these sports, especially soccer, because they are nauseated by the element of hooliganism which is associated with them."[42]

When the issue was raised again in 1977, Walter Johnson of Derby (Labour) commented, "It is no good pussyfooting around. We must deal with the people involved as young thugs who are destroying the game, upsetting decent people and preventing ordinary people from enjoying an afternoon to which they have looked forward all week."[43] Football stadiums had become contested political spaces, clearly labeled 'unsafe' and conducive to violence. While working-class spectators envisioned the stadium as a place to explore community loyalties and contest social policy, politicians wanted to clean up the football environment for respectable spectators. These transgressions of safety recognized by the government and consistently reported by the press, fueled ubiquitous moral anxieties. Many members of Parliament were compelled to recognize the imposition on the football industry and treat the public's fears with serious political consideration. At certain times, the severity could be potentially overstated to make the point. Martin Flannery of Sheffield (Labour) claimed, "It is a terrible and intractable problem. It is almost as difficult of solution as the problem of Northern Ireland."[44]

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[42] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 893 (19 June 1975), col.1762-3.

[43] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 929 (6 April 1977), col. 1353.

[44] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 931 (5 May 1977), col. 751.

Jenkins and the Home Office under Wilson initially demurred from engaging in serious discussion about football hooliganism, and generally ignored some of the earliest calls for action from other Labour and Conservative MPs. On several occasions Home Office representatives made it clear that the private football industry could not be invaded by state control, nor could they interfere with the punishments meted out by the magistrates' courts. Dick Taverne stressed twice in response to calls for action that, "It may be a serious problem, but it remains a fact that the responsibility for public order is that of the management of the football club, which has the opportunity to hire as many policemen as it thinks necessary. I do not think that this matter calls for direct action by the Government."[45] In October of the same year he added that, "I am aware that a lot of entertainment is being spoiled, but it would be quite improper for the Home Office to start instructing officers of police when to prosecute and when not to prosecute."[46] This initial hesitancy by the Labour Party to engage football violence reflected the economic strains taking on the issue would create. By assuming responsibility for public order in football, the state would have to increase its spending on policing and local government, something the Home Office could not afford near the end of the Wilson administration. Therefore, Jenkins and his administrators consistently strove to make clubs more responsible for fans' conduct. The Home Office could easily state that it had no jurisdiction or authority over the separate bodies of police administration and magistrate courts.

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[45] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 745 (27 April 1967), col. 1802-3.

[46] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 751 (26 October 1967), col. 1864.

Moral Entrepreneur: Denis Howell

This position would change under the leadership of Denis Howell, MP from Birmingham and Under-secretary for Education and Science. Scholars have noted that ruptures in the moral certainty of civil society are often accompanied by moral entrepreneurs, social agents who attempt to concretize public opinion on crime to increase social control and moral regulation.[47] Entrepreneurs exploit social fears to further the goals of their interest group by attaching themselves to moral causes. In the late 1960s, Howell, more than any other politician or public figure, made football violence representative of other social anxieties in Britain. Howell's position in the DES took on all sport-specific responsibilities when Wilson made him the first Minister for Sport in 1964. When Howell's ministerial office was moved from DES to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in 1969, and again to the Department of Environment in 1970, Howell assumed more responsibility for sport policy, especially as football disorder became a more hotly-debated topic.[48] After several high-profile incidents during the 1970/71 season, Howell established a Working Party to address crowd safety and football violence from a legislative and ministerial perspective. The Party gave him a specialized apparatus from which to explore the problem of football violence, and

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[47] Thompson, *Moral Panics*, 12-3, 36-9. Thompson draws on Stanley Cohen, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears* (1972) and Howard Becker, *Outsiders* (New York: Free Press, 1963).

[48] For the vague and fluctuating history of the Ministry of Sport, see Martin Polley, *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society Since 1945* (London: Routledge, 1998), 23-24; Edward Grayson, *Sport and the Law* (London: Butterworths, 1994, second edition), 43.

solidified his position within the government as the leading authority on the problem of law-and-order within football. His political strategies as Minister of Sport during the Wilson governments (1964-70, 1974-76) and Callaghan administration (1976-79), as well as Shadow Minister for Sport during the conservative Heath administration (1970-4), dictated government policy on football violence, the football leisure industry, and government control of the football environment.

Howell entered the Ministry of Sport as a highly-regarded mind on sporting policy and the sporting industry, a colleague that Wilson trusted as more than a puppet advisor. Though Howell was the first Minister of Sport, a previous short-lived attempt at installing an agency in regards to sport politics under Conservative Quintin Hogg during the Macmillan government had proven unsatisfying. The ministry needed an authority on sport, and Howell, having served as a Football Association referee, knew sporting values and the role of sport in Britain well. He fought throughout his tenure for increased funding for sport with the Sports Council, both for working-class participation and industrial and national sporting performances. He also represented Birmingham, an industrial West Midlands district. His capabilities as a down-to-earth politician steeped in sporting history and working-class conflict made him the perfect candidate for the freshly-minted ministerial post and the leader of the Working Party on crowd disturbances and football violence.

Howell's early contributions to the Commons debates revealed that he too remained reserved about influencing magistrate or police protocol to address the practical

problems of football disorder.[49] But he publicly addressed accusations that Labour had remained inert for too long by expressing his desire to begin pursuing the punishment and elimination of violent football activities through legislative means, a sentiment that was well-received by other MPs and the public. This punitive reaction became a concentrated rhetorical strategy meant to ease public fears through the promise of future peace. In the future, Howell wanted to restore football harmony through the removal of violent subjects through the threat of drastic punitive measures and new legislation.

Overall, football authorities and politicians aggravated social anxieties about football violence by attaching it to other social disruptions. This process intensified a general feeling of incessant violence and moral degeneration in British society from the late 1960s forward, particularly among working-class young men. Football in Britain became the latest rupture in a complex rhetorical web that joined a repertoire of social fears about working-class violence, moral corruption, and unpunished criminal activity.

Challenges to British National Mythology

In addition to contributing to narratives of British social decline, football violence, and especially cases when British football violence erupted abroad, enabled several interest groups to re-evaluate Britain's sporting mythology and its importance to the national ethos. In the postwar period, "Britishness" continued to be a highly

[49] See *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 759, Written Answers (29 February 1968), col. 398.

contested social and cultural concept.[50] British historical consciousness and Britons' sense of themselves could be drawn from a wide range of narratives and practices through which ideas of Britishness and British heritage could be constructed.[51] As in the nineteenth century, British cultural traditions evolved over time in ever-changing historical contexts, using available relationships, practices, and symbols.[52] The creation and maintenance of national traditions often stemmed from ruling elites' desire to impose social prescriptions for behavior and ritual.[53] Long-standing national ideas could also be embodied in myths, which functioned to express ideas of Britishness deriving from older, collective narratives about the origins of national community.[54] National mythology contributed to the definition of the historical community, its moral boundaries, and acceptable forms of social life.[55] These national myths can be composed of cultural traditions such as football spectatorship, but can also be challenged by them.

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[50] See Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Volume I. Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994). In the first of two wide-ranging volumes on British national memory and history, Samuel acknowledges the social and cultural construction of national identity from practices as diverse as fashion, architecture, historical preservation, cultural studies, and photography. National history is constantly negotiated, "the work, in any given instance, of a thousand different hands (8)."

[51] See Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past* (New York: Verso, 1985); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Penguin, 1997); Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Volume II. Island Stories: Unravelling Britain* (New York: Verso, 1998).

[52] See Preface and Chapter One of Robert Colls and Philip Dodd eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

[53] See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[54] See Joseph Mali, *Mythistory: The Making of a Modern Historiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), especially Chapter One.

[55] See John Gillis, ed. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Postwar British football violence allowed politicians to maintain ideas of respectability, bourgeois values, and notions of 'civilized' British society as they demonized violent spectators. British sportsmanship and sporting myths embodied ideas of propriety and gentlemanly conduct representative of distinct ideas of Britishness espoused in earlier eras. British politicians defended these national virtues, as they were both re-enacted in sport's public theatre, and disputed by British subjects engaging in football violence. Football violence challenged national mythologies by tainting Britain's national sport and most cherished entertainment industry. England's victory in the 1966 World Cup cemented football not only as the working-class sport *par excellence*, but as the national sporting heritage to be enjoyed by all. From the late 1960s, football violence disturbed the articulation between sport and nation as the communal tradition became embroiled in violence and enmeshed in ubiquitous concerns about social civility.

Several groups of social actors seized the opportunity to reassert multiple sets of values that contributed to British national culture. First, politicians and football authorities used various rhetorical strategies, which intermittently amplified or diminished the scope of the problem, as one of several concrete and discursive tactics aimed at cleansing football of unwanted violence. Politicians wanted to separate football, as the national sport, from violence, as an assumed working-class phenomenon. As will be shown below, this goal could be achieved either by claiming the problem had little social influence, or by intensifying concerns about it in effort to hastily promote political

responses. Second, legislators and football officials also attempted to exert greater control over players' conduct through disciplinary approaches that became educative of proper British "gentlemanly" conduct. National ideas of respectability and an anti-violence agenda could be enacted through the maintenance of discipline on the football field. Third, British football violence occurred not only at domestic stadiums but also when spectators followed their clubs abroad. The first high-profile incidents overseas challenged the image of British civility in the Continent and forced politicians to respond. Their reactions afforded them the opportunity to express Britain's national values by protecting the virtue of its national sport, and ultimately escalated the perceived severity of football violence.

Rhetoric and the Nation: Protecting Football's Reputation

In a quick review of Parliamentary debates, Richard Giulianotti astutely noted that from 1968-70 political concerns over football violence significantly escalated as violence increased. First identified as a political problem during this period, politicians perceived football violence as a threat to public and private property, raising social unease about the emergent phenomenon and promoting a 'problem-solving' approach to this new political question.[56] This increase in attention resulted in the first two formal government investigations into football violence, the Harrington report and the Lang inquiry, both of

[56] Richard Giulianotti, "Social Identity and Public Order: Political and Academic Discourses on Football Violence," in Giulianotti, Norman Bonney and Mike Hepworth, eds. *Football, Violence and Social Identity* (London: Routledge, 1994).

which reveal much about the early frames of political discourse regarding football spectator indiscipline.[57] After 1970, high-profile cases of football violence and intermittent football disasters kept the question of football violence in British society in the national consciousness throughout the next decade.

One can discern in political statements about football violence several discursive tactics that allowed politicians flexibility in addressing the problem as a blemish on the national image. First, the dichotomy between localized violence and national meaning was effectively used to generate concerns about football disorder on both local and national levels. On some occasions, local politicians categorized football disorder as a localized issue that could be easily contained and addressed. This strategy eased local fears about social disruptions within urban areas and de-emphasized the problem on a local level, displacing the perception of violence onto other localities. In successive debates about football violence, several MPs chimed in with a defense of their constituents. Lomas (Labour- Hudderfield West) assured the House that, "this kind of problem does not apply to Huddersfield Town Football Club."[58] Leslie Spriggs (Labour) of St. Helens was proud of his constituents' behavior:

> My constituents have more sense than to behave badly at such fixtures…It is a pleasure to hear the comments of my constituents when I speak to them on

[57] The Lang Report (1969) was commissioned by Denis Howell and the Labour government to investigate problems of crowd behavior and spectator violence. The Lang commission conducted their investigation by interviewing police authorities, football representatives, stadium managers, and club officials. They also requested police reports for several incidents. The final recommendations of the Lang Report were published as *Report of the Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches* (London: H.M.S.O., 1969).

[58] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 751 (26 October 1967), col. 1864.

> Saturday evenings following my parliamentary surgeries. They are most excited when giving accounts of first-class matches…and they appreciate a game that is well and decently played.[59]

Like Spriggs, many noted that their areas did not suffer from what seemed to be a growing national problem. They typically cited disorder at Manchester and Liverpool, industrial cities where well-known groups of traveling spectators originated. Such defenses minimized the impact of football disorder on local reputations while simultaneously affirming it as a national dilemma. The associations with the northern de-industrializing cities also drew on long-standing reputations of militancy, disorder and crime in those areas.[60] Ultimately, this interplay between the national and the local allowed flexibility in generating political and moral claims about football disorder. Spriggs could comment with disdain that, "I cannot understand why anybody should want to misbehave at sports fixtures and inflict bodily harm on anybody," without having to condemn his own voters. Further, politicians like Spriggs could be seen to be tough on crime while simultaneously championing the pious moral conduct of their constituents.

More often, football violence was articulated as a national problem composed of the aggregate incidents of violence in several different parts of England and Scotland. As mentioned above, when seen as a national crisis, football disorder could be easily linked to moral discourses about youth degeneration. Politicians and football authorities who

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[59] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 931 (5 May 1977), col. 725.

[60] See "North and South" in Samuel, *Island Stories*. Samuel uses popular culture and literature to demystify the historical construction of these reputations of the North, especially as compared to the gentrified South.

portrayed the problem of football disorder as widespread and ubiquitous could easily make a causal relation between this growing phenomenon and the national moral concerns about youth degeneration. Mythologically, this strategy of nationalizing the phenomenon deemed it less connected to football, and thus protected football's national reputation. That is, if football violence could be seen as the outcome of generalized moral degeneration and not constitutive of it, then football could be relieved of a violent reputation. As early as 1965 the Football Association wrote to the Home Office stating that they were, "becoming increasingly exercised at the disorders which take place at football league grounds. We appreciate that these disorders are symptomatic of the lowering of standards of behaviour in all walks of life, but we are anxious to preserve the good name of football."[61] Discussing football disorder as a *national* and *moral* problem not only elevated the level of social concern but also relieved football of the mythological burden of violence. Overall, in presenting the problem with a repertoire of local and national rhetoric, politicians could simultaneously protect the reputations of their constituents and the national sport while maintaining a firm posture against social violence enacted within the football environment.

In stark contrast to the first approach, the second major rhetorical strategy politicians employed aimed at separating working-class violence at football matches from society generally. Like nationalizing the phenomenon, this strategy also aimed at protecting the mythological sanctity of the national sport. Though football violence was

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[61] Letter from Football Association to Home Office, 25 October 1965. In PRO MEPO 2/9483.

clearly a national problem, some depicted it as a problem acted out among 'uncivilized' sectors of British civilians. Discerning 'the blot on society' as apart and separate from the majority of the social body became a key function of the moral panic. Most often, politicians articulated this separation by arguing that violent spectators had no real affinity for football but merely chose this social arena as the place to conduct violent business. Spriggs argued vehemently that, "These thugs go to different parts of the country and enter sports grounds without any intention of watching a good game of any sport."[62] The Football League agreed with this sentiment: "There is growing evidence that, from the moment these people go to football matches, they are making it quite evident that their only reason for being at the match is to 'have a go' at the opposing supporters."[63] Driving a wedge between the national sport and the spectators who tainted it served to protect the sport as the iconic heritage of the nation. Keeping British football as a civilized tradition within a civilized nation became the theme of political discourse about football disorder.

Local politicians and police also advocated the position that a small disruptive minority used football as their playground for violence. This argument allowed them to protect the local experience as well as the national sport. If the minority could be weeded out, then the local atmosphere of amicable football entertainment in large cities and small towns alike could be restored. After an infamously large disruption in Newcastle in

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[62] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 931 (5 May 1977), col. 727.

[63] Letter from Alan Hardaker, Football League, to J.D. Addison at Home Office, 1 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

1969, the local police noted that, "the trouble mainly stemmed from the desire of a large number of people who were out for a day's drinking and used the football match as an excuse to provide the opportunity to satisfy their wishes."[64] They had apparently noticed such behavior at several matches earlier in the season and quickly made this sizeable minority their scapegoat. Liberal MP Clement Freud (Isle of Ely) asked the rest of the House to recognize that, "there is a great deal of hooliganism around which is now being vested in soccer." He added, "If there were no soccer, it is possible that the hooliganism would spread to badminton and ping pong."[65] Again, the sentiment that violent youths utilized the football setting to engage in violent conflicts painted British football as a location victimized by working-class disruptions, ignoring community and club-based loyalties that appealed to many spectators. The fact that postwar had been concretized as working-class tradition and entertainment was not considered important.

Politicians separated football and violence as two discrete spheres of activity, distinguishing between 'desirable' and 'undesirable' football spectators based on class distinctions. In order to separate football violence from football, they quickly established and disseminated distinctions between appropriate and inappropriate groups of spectators to the larger public body. The distinction would both allow and encourage the violent minority to be extracted from the football environment. Politicians, football clubs, and fans alike created this problematic dichotomy and implied the elements of social class

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[64] Report of a Meeting of the Working Party on Crowd Behavior at Football Matches, held at St. James' Park, Newcastle (2 June 1969). In PRO HO 287/1500.

[65] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 931 (5 May 1977), col. 725.

and ‘respectability’ inherent in it. ‘Trouble-makers’ and ‘thugs’ comprised the undesirable groups of football spectators: painted as inherently violent and animalistic, they ignored all civilly prescribed codes of respectable conduct. Almost surely young working-class males, they inhabited the terraces on most weekends and wreaked havoc on the surrounding urban environs. Desirable spectators, in contrast, followed bourgeois codes of conduct, acting according to civil expectations of respectability and gentlemanly “Britishness”, and could afford seated accommodation at football matches.

Nearly all government, police, and club documents discuss fans according to this binarism making the terms recognizable, clear-cut, and value-laden. Most often, the undesirable spectators’ most deplorable transgression was that they were ‘dumb youths’. The Chief Constable in Sheffield and Rotherham commented: “In the main they look what they appear to be, normal young hooligans often possessing little or no intelligence.”[66] Other commentators assumed the youths could be easily influenced and prone to volatility. The Harrington questionnaire asked the police authorities for their opinion on whether these youths could be easily induced to violent action by the media or their companions. Harrington and his committee assumed that while such behavior could be expected from previously delinquent juveniles, those with a clean record must be susceptible to “over-excitement.”[67] Several police noted that while known deviants could manipulate any given football setting to accommodate their activities with guile, other

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[66] Sheffield and Rotherham Constabulary submission to Harrington Commission, 17 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[67] Draft Letter from Harrington Commission to Selected Police Chiefs, undated. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

working-class kids could be easily pressured. In matches of great importance with large crowds, wrote the Deputy Chief Constable at Liverpool, "the high level of hooliganism and misconduct…created circumstances in which the great majority of spectators were confused in strange surroundings, and local youths were prepared to take advantage of the unusual situation."[68] The Cheshire Constabulary used even stronger language to indicate their impressionistic nature: "The mob mentality encourages cowardly nonentities into actions which they would never consider in isolation."[69] Nearly always regarded as over-emotional and prone to peer pressure from their delinquent counterparts, working-class youths generally composed the group designated as 'hooligans' and 'undesirables'. In addition to being violent, the press, politicians and police consistently labeled them immoral, unintelligent, excitable, uncivil, and barbaric.

These stereotypical designations of spectators as dim and obtuse, depraved and violent, emotional and insulting, constituted an implicitly classed and gendered discourse. The anatomy of stereotypes often involved a series of interconnected associations derived from several different axes of power.[70] These implicit connections between degeneration and working-class traditions drew on long-standing discourses of intelligence and morality that constructed paternal relationships between working-class men and their

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[68] Letter to D.J. Trevelyan at Home Office from Deputy Chief Constable at Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary, 24 April 1972. In PRO HO 287/2051.

[69] Cheshire Constabulary submission to Harrington Commission, 7 November 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[70] See Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca: University of Ithaca Press, 1985); Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (London: Routledge, 1995).

superordinates. Reifying football spectators as impish subjects in need of moral education structured a relationship where implicit notions of class provided the main division between politicians and their subjects. In addition, assumptions of superfluous emotionality drew on socially contingent associations with the 'feminine', and therefore denigrated spectator masculinity. Postulations of spectator stupidity also structured the figurative relationship, wherein spectators failed to meet the high standards elicited by well-educated politicians in an educationally meritocratic society. While politicians, football authorities, police officials, and the press almost never overtly discussed class difference or defined masculinity, their discourse implicitly constituted a paternally classed and gendered discussion of football spectators.

The dichotomy of fan designations also worked to preserve a second myth. If the first myth to be protected was one of propriety and non-violence in a civilized Britain, then the second intersecting national myth involved the peaceful harmony between social classes. Though social fractures littered postwar relationships, both political parties worked tirelessly to ensure that workers and middle-class citizens existed cordially even as the social gap between rich and poor widened after 1967.[71] Politicians gathering votes across the social spectrum labored to maintain the semblance of national unity despite these social fractures. Football violence, carried out mostly by young working-class men, made evident the widening fissure between bourgeois values and everyday working-class experience. Discussing fans in the collective language of 'desirable/undesirable' or

[71] See Kenneth O. Morgan, *The People's Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

'genuine/troublemaker' allowed politicians and others to discuss the conflict between fans of different social backgrounds without explicitly discussing class. Working-class youths could be lumped together homogenously as inherently violent and over-emotional by their 'civilized' middle-class counterparts, but the explicit language of class conflict need not be advocated by politicians. Distinctions among fans not only provided a means by which to extol virtues of civility, but also a method of discussing disparity between working-class youth behaviors and bourgeois moral ideals without overtly challenging the myth of national social peace.

In addition to the clearly identifiable fan binarism, the second rhetorical strategy also demanded that the undisciplined group be seen as a small minority overwhelmingly outnumbered and surrounded by the more civilized majority. Mr. Lewis Carter-Jones (Labour) from Manchester relayed many politicians' consistent fears that, "a minority group is being allowed to dominate the pleasure and enjoyment of the majority."[72] Representing violent youths as a small minority indicated that the problem could be more easily handled. Small groups of violent deviants allegedly could be taught how to behave by a more civilized and overwhelming majority. Painting violent spectators as a weak and marginal body within the larger body of football spectators as a whole also contributed to their position as separate. Mr. Follows of the Football Association promised that, "the clubs certainly did not recognize the hooligan fringe as genuine supporters," a position that was echoed by club chairmen throughout Britain.[73] In a

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[72] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 931 (5 May 1977), col. 740.

[73] Home Office Meeting Minutes, chaired by D.J. Trevelyan, 2 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

separate Home Office meeting other club authorities conveyed that, "they were worried that the sport should be identified with this kind of misconduct." The Home Office and club representatives agreed that, "a football match provided the occasion for misbehaviour, but the persons involved were usually not genuine supporters and the football clubs wanted nothing to do with them."[74] Both Home Office representatives and football clubs often emphasized that the minority could not be 'genuine' supporters. Their authentication could only be confirmed by proper conduct that eschewed violence in the football environment.

In a third rhetorical strategy, the regulation of football violence was removed from the level of leisure and entertainment and situated within problematic law-and-order discourses. Politicians and football officials recognized that football disorder was understood as similar and indeed connected to other social concerns about widespread violence, moral degeneration, and youth deterioration. More than that, elevating the topic to a law-and-order problem allowed politicians to address this social concern at a legislative level in cooperation with local police and magistrates' courts. Most importantly, politicians addressed it as a "law and order" topic rather than a "sporting" problem that could be quickly remedied without challenging the integrity and popularity of the national sport.

Howell often indicted football as a law-and-order dilemma, leading the charge against football violence for the Labour Party. Eager to dispel ideas of British football as

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[74] Home Office Meeting Minutes, chaired by the Home Secretary, 13 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

a national sport in decline, Howell consistently expressed his disdain for soccer maleficence:

> "It is important, however, to reiterate that it is a blot on our society. I find it deplorable, as does the Home Secretary, and we are determined, by every means in our power, to stamp it out. I am sure that…all those concerned will support us in this endeavour. It is a Home Office matter, one of law and order, rather than a sporting matter."[75]

As seen in this representative quote, the aforementioned strategic maneuvers littered Howell's discussion about football violence. First, football violence is taken from the level of localized conflict and situated as a challenge to national society. Second, Howell assumes that a minority group of violent spectators can be identified and excised from the football environment. Third, the behavior was condemned as a moral and civil evil, located within the government's purview of law-and-order, and removed from the sporting industry. Finally, the promise of quick retribution through future government action promised to ease social fears about the repetition of such violence in the future.

Howell and other politicians often emphasized the threat that football violence posed to national values of civility and respectability as well. After calling for a fresh round of government meetings to discuss the problem with his Working Party in 1975, Howell called football hooligans, "pathological thugs. They are rejecting society and all its civilised values. We have got to show them that we are not giving in to these irresponsible lawbreakers." Not to be outdone, the Conservative voice on sporting issues, shadow minister Hector Monro, commented, "The thoughtless thugs have to be brought

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[75] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 788 (15 October 1969), col. 566.

to their senses severely if football is to survive."[76] According to these political threats, the apparent lack of civility and proper conduct could be counteracted with warnings of harsh punishment. Ensuring that inherently violent subjects would be punished for uncivilized acts served to represent politicians as tough on crime and protective of the nation's proposed values.

Protecting the reputation of football itself became synonymous with the idea of protecting the nation's respectable values. Members of Parliament, and Howell specifically, could not allow such a challenge to Britain's sporting tradition to go unpunished. After each infamous incident of football violence publicized widely in the press, politicians reiterated their desire to protect the national sport from a violent reputation. Ivor Clemitson (Labour) of Luton cried out in a Commons debate that, "we need to do far more thinking about how we can control the hooliganism which is blighting and ruining what to me is the greatest game that man has ever invented."[77] If football as a sport mythologically represented the esteemed values of the nation—hard work, respectability, toughness, and fair play—then a blight on the game could be interpreted as a blight on the nation itself. Eldon Griffiths, a leading voice on sporting issues for the Conservative Party and the Minister for Sport under Heath, explicitly connected the image of the nation to the appearance of sport as a British tradition: "What

[76] "Howell Puts Thugs on Penalty Spot," *Guardian*, 2 September 1975.

[77] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 893 (19 June 1975), col. 1781.

has been happening on our football grounds is an affront to the sporting ideal, a disgrace to the game of football and a blot on the reputation of this country in the world."[78]

In all of these political statements, articulated in public debate and through the press, concerned politicians worried most about the presentation of the sport to the nation. As shown above, nationalisms can be invested with multiple sets of principles that define and infuse the national ethos. In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, challenges to football violence forced politicians to confront how deeply embedded British football was within the culture of the nation. Practically, it provided an available and cheap form of leisure and entertainment for Britons. Mythologically, football signified a national heritage and custom deeply connected to the national values championed within British civil society. Protecting the reputation of football as a widespread gratifying leisure activity within the nation and as a representation of British civility and respectability abroad became a strong concern for politicians given the task of organizing and monitoring British sport. These politicians, and especially Denis Howell as the leading voice on sport in Britain, used this opportunity not only to reaffirm their position within their Parties, but also to reaffirm and rearticulate the importance of football within society and Britain's sporting reputation within the global community.

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[78] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 929 (6 April 1977), col. 1342.

Enforcing Sportsmanship: British Sporting Values in Contest

Those in charge of maintaining order at football matches, primarily the local police and politicians involved in special sporting violence commissions, often flirted with the link between player indiscipline and spectator conduct. The early Harrington and Lang investigations as well as Howell's Working Parties considered the existence of a symbolic and even a direct link between violent outbursts on the pitch and violence in the terraces. Conventional wisdom about sportsmanship dictated that the football referee makes all regulatory and punitive decisions within the match, while the player should honorably and respectfully accept these decisions as final. However, when players strayed from total deference and often involved themselves in mildly violent conduct with other players, they were chastised by the public and politicians alike. Transgressing sportsmanship within football meant transgressing codes of bourgeois respectability and propriety championed by the referee, sports governors, and the nation as a whole.

Players, like fans, became subject to behavioral norms determined by sets of national ideals and sporting values. Players were to act properly, accepting punishment and retribution with a stiff face but deferent acceptance. Several interest groups saw the failure of British football players to integrate these values into their on-field conduct as setting a poor example for violent working-class fans. Again, politicians and the police alike ignored the community- and club-based loyalties, interpersonal allegiances, and social background that conditioned the experiences and actions of violent working-class

spectators. Instead, a direct link between players' conduct and fans' indiscipline was assumed to be a primary contributing factor to the outbreak of football violence.

The most important aspect of maintaining order through this relationship involved ensuring that fans did not get aggravated by referee's decisions and players' violence on the field. Police and politicians assumed that fans were prone to bouts of intense emotion, and thus could be incensed and provoked to violence on the terraces depending upon the entertainment before them. The final copy of the Harrington Report, conducted by University of Birmingham researchers and submitted to the Home Office in 1968, echoed the submissions from constabulary districts across the nation:

> "Players today frequently abuse or threaten other players and this often leads to physical violence between them. Displays of bad temper by 'stars' of the game are accompanied by theatrical gestures which tend to whip up sympathy from followers. Any unpopular decision of the referee is followed by vehement protests, arguments and a melee around him…Unfair tactics and various forms of gamesmanship like feigning injury, excess emotionality and lack of respect for accepted standards of sportsmanship combine to give the impression of a poor standard of conduct in League football today. The temperature of a particular game is often the product of player misbehaviour and it is not surprising if the crowd reacts to this by erupting into violence."[79]

Ideas of fairness and sportsmanship permeate the relationship between player and referee. In order to prevent fan violence, disorderly spectators, prone to overexcitement and mercurial emotions, must receive no instigation to engage in violent activities. Using the theatre of player-referee interaction to inculcate ideas of propriety and deference in punishment became a key function of regulating on-field discipline.

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[79] Final report of Harrington Commission, published as J.A. Harrington, "Soccer Hooliganism: A Preliminary Report," (Bristol: John Wright and Sons, Ltd, 1968), 27.

Though the Birmingham Research Group conducted some eyewitness investigation, they adhered to what they had heard from several police authorities in many different parts of England and Scotland. The Chief Constable's Office in Chester remarked that, "the discipline of the game needs tightening up considerably. The bad example being set by the 'idols' of the teenagers is quickly followed by their admirers." He also added that players help to identify, "the other team, the officials, and often the Police as the enemy' in the eyes of the partisan followers. This type of tension is contagious in a crowd and is liable to erupt into violence."[80] In the eyes of the police, football spectators were subject to intense pressures and very impressionable, leading to the contagion of violence passed between on-field conduct and behavior in the terraces. Police not only blamed players, but referees for failing to exert their power over the match and the crowd as well.[81]

A year after the Harrington submitted his report to the Home Office, another independent commission on football relations also found player misconduct and football violence to be closely related. A Working Party on Crowd Behavior at Football Matches, chaired by judge John Lang also warned against taking the relationship between players and fans lightly. Their final recommendations noted that, "players can – and should – do a great deal to help if they accept the decision of the referee…everybody else concerned from the club directors downwards, must accept the decision of the referee without

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[80] Cheshire Constabulary submission to Harrington commission, 7 November 1967. PRO HLG 120/1465.

[81] See Derby County and Borough Constabulary submission to Harrington commission, 21 October 1967. PRO HLG 120/1465.

questioning it in any way." The report concluded that, "We firmly believe that greater realization of this duty…would ease the task of the referee, reduce tension on the field and thereby reduce tension amongst spectators."[82] Both of the first government-commissioned reports clearly linked player indiscipline to terrace violence, neglecting the complex meanings attached to football violence by spectators.

While government commissions on many occasions recommended that players' conduct be strictly monitored and indiscipline met with heavy punishment on many occasions, a concrete disciplinary scheme didn't materialize until 1972. After a series of meetings with Undersecretary of State Eldon Griffiths, John Lang, and ranking members of the Department of the Environment, the Football League and Football Association implemented a series of sanctions against dissident players. The new scheme, adopted for the 1972-73 season, revolved around a points system based on demerits. A total of twelve demerits or four on any one occasion forced the player to visit a disciplinary commission. The commission, whose administrative and labor costs were paid for by the player in question, doled out suspensions of two or three games on average. The new scheme also removed suspended sentences which had been used by football authorities in the past. Finally, the commission could impose heavier fines on clubs as well as players, especially when several players at a single club consistently transgressed. Players could request appeals but much of the disciplinary power remained in the hands of football

[82] "Report of Working Party on Crowd Behavior at Football Matches," chaired by John Lang, submitted to Denis Howell, Home Office, 19 May 1969, p. 10. In PRO HO 287/1500.

authorities, who were instructed specifically by Griffiths to attempt to institute more respectable conduct on the field in effort to reduce spectator violence.[83]

Eldon Griffiths and Denis Howell, respective leaders on sport for the major political parties praised the disciplinary scheme as a helpful deterrent to football spectator disorder. After a season of tightly monitored behavior, Griffiths claimed, "there has been a material improvement in behaviour on the field which in turn has its effect on behaviour on the terraces."[84] As a former referee, Howell continued to lash out at players for indiscretion, especially after Labour returned to office in 1974 and Howell created his own Working Party on Crowd Behavior. He proclaimed to the press that, "we have to eliminate dissent from our playing" as a primary initiative.[85] Howell also received a letter from Arthur Tiley, who had worked on the Chester committee on football relations in 1968, lending Howell some counsel on where to begin his investigation. Tiley hit out at player indiscipline: "The crowd's emotions are aroused, at least the lunatic fringe amongst them, by the dreadful antics they are seeing on the field. These emotions are just the same emotions which are aroused by sexual films."[86] Spectators' purported impressionable nature here takes on a sexual connotation, as Tiley correlated sex and violence as similar emotional experiences. Clearly, sports politicians took a keen interest

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[83] See Minutes of Meeting to Discuss Football Discipline, chaired by Eldon Griffiths, 9 May 1972. In PRO HLG 120/1597. See also the final resolutions of the disciplinary scheme in Meeting Minutes, 24 May 1972. In PRO HLG 120/1597.

[84] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 867 (18 January 1974), col. 1147.

[85] *Daily Mail*, 20 March 1974.

[86] Letter from Arthur Tiley to Denis Howell, 20 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

in monitoring player conduct based on their misguided notions of spectators' emotionality. While football spectators could be intensely emotional, politicians' wrongly assumed a universal gullibility and an inherent uncontrollable, impressionable, and even sexual, demeanor when participating in acts of violence.

By the mid-1970s, the public joined politicians in figuring the non-existent relationship between players' conduct and spectator violence. One man expressed his discontent with the current state of football in a letter to Howell. Its extraordinary language revealed that the potentially violent aspects of the sport itself could be taken as educative of aggressive conduct in the terraces:

> I am writing to you about this game of football or is it crippleball. It was time it was cleaned up…I have heard lots of big men in football talk on the subject but none have come up with the real cause of the fans running amock…The Ref wants more power and his dicsion [decision] final. Now Sir I say this, all this trouble from the fan comes from the dirty play on the field. Such as Kicking, Tackling from behind, shirt pulling, Kicking over the ball, aurgueing [arguing] with the referee, and many others that spoil the game. Denise think deeply about this.[87]

Howell kindly replied that he would be sure to discuss "discipline on the field" with his working party.[88] The Young Women's Christian Association of Great Britain asked Howell to advocate players as heroes to be emulated. Miss N. Borelli stated: "I feel very strongly that the influence of the football superstars was not harnessed in any way to help form public opinion, especially among young people." Her extensive letter to Howell laid out possible ways for young boys to meet players which, "could be used in a much

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[87] Mr. Abbott H. Ackroyd to Denis Howell, 2 May 1974 in PRO AT 60/12.

[88] Denis Howell to Abbott Ackroyd, 7 June 1974. In PRO AT 60/12.

more positive way."[89] Her request recognized the identification of football supporters with clubs and specific players, but narrowly pinpointed the motivation for spectator violence in the fan/player association. Both public requests mimicked politicians' conceptualization of the problem, and targeted players' conduct as a focus of discipline and re-ordering.

Players' discipline became such an engrossing topic for sport politicians and the public because it provided an educative, theatrical display of the processes of ordering and punishment. As in other sports, verbal dissent and in-game violence always met with castigation by the referee, usually disallowing the player to continue in the match. Politicians wanted disorderly fans to see this power play and learn from it. They wanted violent and rebellious conduct, no matter how famous or innocuous the culprit, to be punished within public view. Better yet, public punishment and the process of restoring order to a public space, in this case the football pitch, served as an instructional tool that communicated messages about dissent and punishment. These messages about punishment and indiscipline were meant to be imparted whether violence occurred on the field or off it. Such demonstrations unjustifiably blamed players for a much larger social phenomenon because they made quick and easy targets for politicians' exhibitions of discipline. Politicians clearly worried that if players' disrespectful conduct went unpunished fans would assume they could behave in a similar fashion without the institution of order and penalty.

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[89] Letter from Miss N. Borelli, Secretary for the Religious Education Programme, The Young Women's Christian Association of Great Britain, to Denis Howell, 29 April 1974. In PRO AT 60/12.

Tied to these discourses of anti-violence and player discipline were discussions about sportsmanship and respectability. Politicians prescribed sporting values of respectability, deference, and propriety as the antidote to criminal behavior by spectators. Acting with genteel deference became not only an image of how a sporting man acts when engaged in play, but also how one acts when scrutinized by the state. Politicians and police iterated a causal connection between football violence on the pitch and off of it, and in attempts to battle both, further invested football with national values of sporting behavior and gentlemanly conduct. British Spectators further challenged these ideas of Britishness when they participated in hostile violence overseas.

British Violence Abroad: The First Incidents

Ideas of Britishness embodied in sport received their harshest challenges from the first incidents of British football deviancy exported abroad. The best British clubs also participated in several European competitions, and loyal fans followed their teams to the continent. Spectators' values of community, territoriality, and loyalty often led to violent conflict among groups of British fans and continental spectators. Not simply a domestic problem, these events forced the Home Office, and later the Foreign Commonwealth Office, to deal with criminal acts of violence carried out by British football spectators in large cities abroad. Two incidents in particular—in Mexico in 1970, and in Rotterdam in 1974—forced the FCO and the Home Office to generate diplomatic strategies to safeguard Britain's international reputation. While exporting British football violence

would become more frequent and again consume the defenders of moral and national virtue in the 1980s, these first incidents reveal how the state dealt with initial challenges to the sometimes violent image of British sporting heritage abroad.

The English looked eagerly to the 1970 World Cup, held in Mexico, to see if the British national football team could repeat a world championship. The Foreign Commonwealth Office also scrutinized the team and its traveling fans. Marred by fears of an international press conflict and growing levels of domestic football violence, English involvement in the 1970 competition heightened government fears about the image of British football abroad. The FCO hoped for an uneventful tournament and watched British traveling fans closely. But the FCO also anticipated that using football to facilitate subtle diplomatic tactics would allow the agency to address the contest over Britain's sporting image in Latin America. Commonwealth Office agents showed particular concern over the bad press the national team received after England beat both Mexico and Argentina in the 1966 competition. Mexican public disdain for the British team peaked when several British press outlets and the Football Association objected to holding the competition in Mexico, citing problems with altitude and underdeveloped infrastructure and stadiums. They also criticized Mexico's role as host of the Olympic Games in 1968.[90] One FCO officer remarked, "The UK received such a bad press in the Argentine (and in the rest of Latin America for that matter) that relations at a working level cooled decidedly in Argentina for an embarrassingly long period. It was all sour

[90] See Confidential British Embassy in Mexico Memo, "Football: Mexican Attitudes to the England Team," prepared by Eric Vines, First Secretary (Information), dated 24 June 1970. In PRO FCO 7/1649.

grapes." British Commonwealth officials, in effort to re-establish their working relationships at the government level, "thereafter did go to considerable lengths to try to redress the balance and to defend our sporting ability and integrity."[91]

The FCO, in conjunction with Howell, also tightly controlled the exposure Mexican journalists had to the British team, and sent a representative along with the squad to supervise their interaction.[92] Both the Home Office and the British Embassy in Mexico shared their concern that bad media relationships could hinder international relations, blaming, "an unduly one-sided attitude by British Press commentators," along with, "Mexican chauvinism," and, "the refusal of Mexican media to come to terms with the ground rules for contact between themselves and our Team Manager and players." Noting that, "the Mexican press has been childish, ignorant and sometimes vicious," the Embassy concluded that, "the sooner the Mexicans teach their public to grow up the better."[93] Despite their obvious paternalist condescension, all three British agencies ensured that both Mexican and British press did not continue to badger or bait one another, and attempted to remove any political overtones from the football tournament.

The Embassy also proactively attempted to improve Britain's footballing image by encouraging Mexican football authorities to award English captain Bobby Charlton, the darling of English soccer, an honorary award. The governor of Jalisco presented

[91] Letter from Mr. Brinson, FCO to C.P.P. Baldwin, FCO, dated 18 May 1970. In PRO FCO 7/1649, file 7.

[92] Letter from B.P. Austin, American Department, to Mr. Baldwin, Information Policy Department, dated 21 May 1970. In PRO FCO 7/1649, file 8.

[93] Confidential Memo, "The World Cup 1970: The Politics of Football," sent from British Embassy in Mexico to Foreign Commonwealth Office, 24 June 1970. In PRO FCO 7/1649.

Charlton with the Jalisco Sportsman of the Year honor during the tournament, the first time the medal was given to a foreigner. The Embassy telegraphed Howell and the FCO, stating that, "the governor's gesture was made in part to diminish unfair criticism of the England team." They encouraged the domestic offices to promote the story within the British press, inviting both the BBC and ITV to film the event, and noted that the Embassy would be, "grateful for anything the news department can do to give prominence to the story as demonstration that basic British-Mexican friendships are unaffected by current polemic of sporting journalists."[94] The public display was meant to convey messages of public reconciliation and promote objective press perspectives within a volatile environment. More importantly, the event revealed that maintaining Britain's sporting image proved imperative to international political relations.[95]

Though, in the end, only a few isolated incidents of British spectator violence occurred in Mexico, the embassy wrote that, "England's elimination in the quarter final was disappointing but a relief."[96] The American Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office echoed the sentiment:

> We were indeed disturbed at the hammering which our relations with Mexico were receiving and must admit to sharing your sense of guilty relief when

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[94] Telegram from British Embassy in Mexico to Foreign Commonwealth Office and Denis Howell, dated 11 June 1978.

[95] Attempts to use popular culture icons in the postwar period as cultural ambassadors to foster better political relationships were used by diplomatic agencies frequently. On the United States, see Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[96] "The World Cup 1970: The Politics of Football," in PRO FCO 7/1649.

> England went out – if only because there is now some hope that for the next four years at least we can continue to conduct our relations with Latin America without burning resentment.[97]

Both Home Office and FCO officials realized that Britain's elimination from the tournament would lead to no further opportunities for fan violence. In the end, only a few publicized scandals regarding unpaid hotel bills really reflected poorly on British fans.[98] But British state offices' concern about the impact of disruptive episodes abroad intensified after football assumed its place within national mythology through debates over football violence and working-class spectators at home.

European competitions provided opportunities for British fans to follow their club teams, often providing pretexts for violent conduct on the Continent. The first few incidents of violence in Europe forced Howell and the FCO to assume responsibility for any political or financial damages incurred by European neighbors. In May 1974 several Tottenham F.C. fans followed their squad from London to Rotterdam, and violence involving both sides' supporters marred the match. British fans arrived in Rotterdam early, and many drank heavily on the trip over. Though the first leg of the match in London saw no spectator violence, the proceedings began with 750 spectators tearing up the British Rail Ferry 'Avalon', resulting in the cancellation of their return tickets.[99]

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[97] J.A. Robson, American Department to C.P. Hope, British Embassy in Mexico, 8 July 1970. In PRO FCO 7/1649.

[98] For example, see *Daily Telegraph*, 6 June 1970.

[99] Many European competitions play two 'legs' in a single round of the tournament, a full match in each club's home stadium. The composite score determines the winner.

Throughout the afternoon the police were inundated with complaints about the 4000 Spurs fans who made the trip over. The final consular report read like a riot commentary:

> There were many cases of petty pilferage in shops, unpleasant arguments, occasional fights between the English themselves and also one or two with some Dutch supporters, and some stone throwing at shop windows. One Furniture shop had its contents taken out on to the pavement and a clothes shop was ransacked, clothes stolen, and till box taken away.[100]

By the time the actual match began, several fights involving weapons ensued within the terraces. Police reporting to the scene engaged in violent encounters with the fans as they attempted to quell the fights and disarm the Dutch and British spectators. British fans broke down the rails and wooden chairs adjoining the terraces and threw them at their Dutch counterparts. In the end, the local Red Cross treated 120 people, 80 were hospitalized, and damage to the Feyenoord ground totaled nearly 20,000 guilders (over 3000 pounds).[101]

Despite warnings from the Home Office to pay attention to fan behavior, the British Consulate-General in Rotterdam, W.F.B. Price, remarked that colleagues from the Consulate and the Embassy, "allowed their own belief in British standards of fair play to cloud their judgement and they underestimated the potential danger of unchecked hooligans."[102] Price, after interviewing the police involved, admitted that the situation

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[100] British Consulate-General in Rotterdam, W.H.B. Price, "Report on Incidents at Rotterdam on the Occasion of the Football Match Between Feyenoord and Tottenham Hotspur on May 29th 1974," 4 June 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683.

[101] Ibid, p. 6-7.

[102] Letter from British Consulate-General, W.F.B. Price to R.V. Juchau, Consular Department, Foreign Commonwealth Office, 4 June 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683.

became severely violent and life-threatening: "The situation was no doubt a dangerous one with a distinct threat of danger to life." Yet, he downplayed the political ramifications of football violence on the Continent, stating that, "the matter should not be exaggerated…Every nation has its hooligans and fighters. The honour of the British nation has not been dragged through the mud by the behaviour of the Spurs' fans. Soccer is not that important." Price repeatedly noted that Dutch police authorities and government representatives agreed with British ambassadors about the incident and encouraged all parties to, "forget the sorry story."[103]

In London, British domestic representatives disagreed. Though Price may have been correct in assuming the Dutch wanted to ignore the incident, he drastically underestimated the challenge that European public awareness of British football violence presented to the British themselves. In London, the public and state representatives alike were furious at fans for their immoral conduct and at foreign ambassadors for their negligence. The national press presented the violent episode as a dangerous extension of domestic football affairs. The *Times* blew the story out of proportion, asserting that, "Rotterdam had not been visited by such scenes of violence since before the war."[104] *Guardian* reporter Peter Cole quoted an unidentified Red Cross spokesman: "They were like animals, these drunken English kids. We've never seen anything like it before and

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[103] Price, "Report on Incidents at Rotterdam," p. 7. In PRO FCO 47/683.

[104] *The Times*, 31 May 1974.

we never want to see it again."[105] Both reports emphasized violent engagements between spectators and the damage to property that the Dutch club and Dutch citizens incurred.

Howell, away on vacation, issued a statement through the Department of the Environment: "The behaviour of some football supporters is intolerable. These Spurs fans were not only representing the Tottenham club, which has a fine record in Europe, but they were representing the British people." Like the national team itself, British spectators assumed the responsibility of British representation while abroad. Labour MP Tom Torney of South Bradford echoed Howell's reaction: "These fans are regarded as ambassadors for Britain when they are abroad. I am utterly disgusted with them."[106] Price too expressed consternation over the damage to perceptions of British propriety. In private correspondence to the Consular Office in London he wrote, "We on our side have important morals to draw – not least the danger of sending young supporters abroad in floating pubs to arrive at the football venue with plenty of extra drinking hours in hand."[107] Though football violence may have had little actual influence on inter-European relationships, British politicians from several different agencies condemned football violence and its reflection upon British values.

The public also responded to the Rotterdam fiasco, revealing that many British citizens felt the ordeal possessed political and mythological ramifications as well. Using

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[105] *The Guardian*, 31 May 1974.

[106] Both quoted in *The Guardian*, 31 May 1974.

[107] , W.F.B. Price to R.V. Juchau, FCO, 4 June 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683.

language drawn from emergent law-and-order discourses, several Britons expressed their dismay to their local MPs and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. One man wrote the Netherlands Ambassador in London: "I feel sure many of my fellow countrymen share my shame and disgust and would like it placed on record that my feelings are typical and trust your countrymen will understand that this behaviour is not representative of the British public in general and know that a warm and deep regard exists between the people of both nations. I am confident that you will receive many letters in a similar vein from others of my countrymen, and can only express my own personal deep regret for this incident."[108] The letter was forwarded to the FCO as evidence of the British public's disappointment with British spectators. Another man wrote his Parliament representative, Margaret Thatcher: "I am sure that you share with the rest of us a feeling of outrage at the disgraceful happenings of yesterday in Rotterdam. I am writing to ask you to press the Government to send an official apology to the Dutch Government for the behaviour of thugs and vandals who should never have been allowed to visit a foreign country."[109] Thatcher forwarded the letter immediately to the FCO, asking that the Embassy indeed issue a formal apology.[110] Both letters affirmed the fears of Howell and the FCO that the public also regarded the incident as a blow to Britain's sporting image.

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[108] Harold A. Stein to the Netherlands Ambassador, London, 30 May 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683.

[109] Larry Ross to Margaret Thatcher, MP, 30 May 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683.

[110] Margaret Thatcher, MP to Roy Hattersley, Minister of State, PRO FCO, 3 June 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683, file 5. A formal apology was given by Price to both the Dutch police authorities and the Dutch government. Tottenham Football Supporters' Club and the Mayor of Haringay also issued apologies the following week. See letter from FCO to Margaret Thatcher, 10 June 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683, file 6.

All parties expressed the need to protect the role of football in Britain's national mythology because it bolstered Britons' ideas of themselves. Football violence reflected poorly on constructed representations of civility and propriety. More importantly, the first incidents of British violence exported abroad inhibited the projection of those national values to the Continent. Not surprisingly, the representation of British values, exemplified in this instance in football conduct, meant more to the British than any given European 'Other'. Football violence abroad engaged European counterparts in an ongoing process of maintaining Britain's national values, but only inasmuch as they provided an audience for behavior that transgressed appropriate British demeanor. These contraventions also provided opportunities for British authorities to engage a second and more important audience: the British public. Domestic football violence created a pretext to discuss moral regulations for working-class young men, while international football violence revealed how enmeshed those moral discourses had become with the imagined national ethos.

An important aspect of the happenings in Rotterdam is that the FCO suppressed several complaints of brutality and cruel force by Dutch police. The day after the incident, a consular official telegraphed FCO noting, "Members of the Embassy who were present say that feelings were running high on both sides and there may well have been some provocation," of British fans by officers.[111] Price spent the first few days after the incident interviewing both English and Dutch fans, as well as the local police. He

[111] Telegraph from Barnes at Consular's Office, The Hague to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 30 May 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683.

wrote to the British Consulate that, "I suppose that a lot of the complaints and questions you may have to answer will be about alleged police brutality…When they did wade in (as they then had to do) they may have over-reacted."[112] In his final report Price recounted that after British spectators attacked eight officers in an initial clash, the Chief Inspector at the stadium returned to the Spurs' section with fifty uniformed officers with batons midway through the first half. "His orders to his men were to go in and hit hard," Price declared. "His men had to force their way up the staircase against a rush of spectators trying to get away from the scene. The Dutch [police] themselves admit that some of the British injured in the baton charge were probably innocent bystanders."[113] The Dutch police, "have accepted the situation philosophically," noted Price, "and feel that the least said the sooner mended."[114] Clearly, the Dutch police minimized the claims of alleged brutality by capitalizing on British ambassador's desires to avoid reconciling financial and political damages.

At least one MP confirmed that several of his constituents testified to severe police brutality and asked that the FCO and the Home Secretary look into these claims.[115] Errol Rasin, a Spurs fan who broke a leg in the melee, also told *The Guardian* that, "I blame the Dutch police for the whole thing. I was at the bottom of the stand, which was

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[112] W.H.B. Price to R.V. Juchau, FCO, 4 June 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683, file 4.

[113] "Report on Incidents at Rotterdam," p. 5. In PRO FCO 47/683.

[114] W.H.B. Price to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 30 May 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683, file 2.

[115] Letter from Ted Graham, MP to Roy Jenkins, Home Secretary, 5 June 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683, file 7.

very full. Suddenly the police attacked and everybody fell on top of one another."[116] Jenkins asked the FCO to handle the request. Conservative Roy Hattersley, Minister of State at the time, gave a diplomatic but unsatisfying response. Noting that, "we have had a number of letters expressing regret at what occurred," he told Graham to inform his constituents that, "the unfortunate yet inevitable point is that on such occasions innocent bystanders do get hurt."[117] Both state ministries preferred to move past the incident without disturbing the Dutch government any further. They purposefully neglected to investigate several claims of police brutality, instead opting to resolve the incident through a formal apology to the Dutch. The FCO and the Home Office sidestepped questions about who instigated the violence and how the police exacerbated the conflict. Instead the tested narrative of British working-class spectators, drunk and disorderly, disrupting the purity of the game and misrepresenting British citizens' ideas of themselves, proved more tidily handled.

Later that summer, disturbances among Manchester United fans in Ostend, Belgium gave Howell the opportunity to publicly chastise improper spectator conduct. Howell raised the oft-suggested threat of ticketing controls, a subtle means of restricting access to matches. He stated later in 1974 that, "We have to make sure that tickets for these games go to people who can conduct themselves properly." He added that, "what we want is for bona fide supporters to go to these matches—people who can be a credit to the club and the country. I am not surprised that people abroad are getting fed up with

[116] *The Guardian*, 31 May 1974.

[117] Letter from Roy Hattersley to Ted Graham, 21 June 1974. In PRO FCO 47/683.

the action of these hooligans."[118] These high-profile foreign incidents clearly embarrassed the British government, and in each case the resident consulate issued several apologies while Howell and other moralists in Britain chastised working-class men for their behavior. Howell expressed his frustration with foreign violence to the House after an incident in Paris the following summer:

> The time has come when we must stop that practice…There have now been five incidents when five different clubs have gone into Europe. It is a disgrace, which must be brought to an end. All of us are ashamed that these difficulties continue. No one was more humiliated than I was at having to apologise to the French Prime Minister for the behaviour of so-called football supporters. They were behaving like louts.[119]

Howell not only communicated his embarrassment to his colleagues, but again concentrated on behavior and conduct of working-class spectators, condemning it on moral grounds. The extension of domestic football violence to the Continent allowed Howell to elevate the issue in public consciousness, promoting further means of working-class exclusion such as ticket controls. British football disorder not only reflected poorly on local communities and challenged the limits of civil conduct; it also forced state and citizen alike to re-evaluate the national mythology of British class harmony and the beneficial international image of sport.

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[118] Quoted in *Daily Mirror*, 5 August 1974.

[119] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 893 (19 June 1975), col. 1800. I can account for four of the five incidents which Howell alluded to here, all of which involved the FCO. First, disturbances among Leeds United fans in Anderlecht in the 1974/75 European Cup. Second, Leeds' fans in Paris on 28 May 1974 caused UEFA to consider banning the club from European competition altogether. See PRO AT 60/39, files 2A and 3. Third, the incident involving Tottenham fans in Rotterdam, 30 May 1974, mentioned above. Fourth, Manchester United fans in Ostend, Belgium on 3 August 1974.

Conclusions

British football violence, both within and outside the nation, challenged ideas of British respectability and national cohesiveness. British ideas of civility and gentlemanly conduct, articulated by various moral and political agents, were challenged by violent behavior amongst both players and spectators. Moral anxieties about football violence did not arise in a social void, but were articulated through a variety of cultural themes that expressed fears of working-class youth dissidence, moral deterioration in society generally, and perceptions of a growing breakdown in law-and-order. Several politicians and press agents, including Denis Howell in particular, exploited these social apprehensions to generate political capital by articulating their toughness on criminal issues and appearing to be integral to re-generating national values. By advocating discursive strategies to limit, define, and sensationalize the problem, the British state and contributed to making the conflict over British football violence one of the major moral issues of the 1970s. When political attention and press coverage amplified the social significance of football violence, the rhetoric proved extremely powerful. The development of these political attitudes and the elevated position of football violence in British public consciousness allowed the state to promote and execute draconian policies of punishment, exclusion, and segregation that threatened football attendance as a working-class custom and community activity.

Chapter Three- Violent Environments:
Physical Space, Discipline and Football Disorder

Throughout the 1970s the Home Office, the Department of the Environment, and local police authorities in areas across England sought to control fans' behavior through a variety of institutional, environmental, and legal measures. While the present chapter focuses on the creation of spectating environments that aimed at restricting violence, the following two chapters evaluate the multiple policing and juridical changes ushered in by the state. In the next three chapters, I will reconstruct the integrated approach the state and British police advocated to discipline the growing number of unruly spectators. In many ways, these policies reflected the discursive construction of unruly spectators that challenged the sporting mythology of British nationalism. The creation of football 'hooligans' as animalistic and brutish allowed cruel and violent physical measures to be taken against spectators without significant public outcry. As I argue in this chapter, governmental authorities developed architectural policies of dividing physical space and restricting spectator movement that created stadium environments which invited instability and threatened rulebreakers with increasingly cruel violent outcomes.

Successive Labour and Conservative governments gradually increased the facilitation of fan controls throughout the 1970s. Manipulations to the physical environment in this arena of entertainment had been ongoing since the postwar period, as sizes of crowds increased and football disorder accompanied the football's increasing popularity. The long processes of physical manipulation culminated in the 1989 Taylor

Report, produced after the lethal Hillsborough disaster, which mandated all-seated stadiums in all British venues.[1] The Taylor report resulted in the widespread commercialization of football, the end of terrace spectating through the introduction of all-seat stadiums, and a significant decrease in the levels of football violence. While most sociologists have focused on the drastic changes to the football environment after the publication of Taylor's recommendations, this chapter will focus on earlier manipulations of physical space that made disasters like Hillsborough possible in the first place.[2] Though all-seated stadiums eventually provided an answer to immediate fears about crowd safety, the framework for architectural manipulation and spatial division had been in place for many decades. By the 1970s, through policies of fan containment, supporter segregation, and restrictive physical boundaries, football authorities followed the state's chief suggestions by manipulating the architectural settings in which football violence took place. Encouraged by the state and British police forces, clubs across Britain facilitated the construction of violent environments that aimed, paradoxically, at preventing violence.

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[1] The Hillsborough disaster in Sheffield, where 96 Liverpool supporters died on 15 April, 1989, was the last major disaster in British professional sports. Most of those who died were crushed to death or suffocated within the enclosed confines of an overcrowded pen in the Leppings Lane end of the stadium. Lord Justice Peter Taylor chaired the inquiry into the disaster, and the resulting report—which mandated all-seating stadiums and better stadium facilities for fans—is generally regarded as the catalyst for the commercialization and modernization of British football and football stadiums.

[2] The body of work on the Taylor report and post-Hillsborough stadium changes is increasingly large. See Ian Taylor, "English Football in the 1990s: Taking Hillsborough Seriously?" in John Williams and Stephen Wagg eds., *British Football and Social Change: Getting Into Europe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1991); John Williams, "English Football Stadiums After Hillsborough," in John Bale and Olof Moen, eds., *The Stadium and the City* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995); Anthony King, *The End of the Terraces: The Transformation of English Football in the 1990s* (London: Leicester University Press, 1998).

Scholars have conceptualized the typical stadium in the postwar era diversely as a prison, theatre, and embodiment of Bentham's panopticon. John Bale, a cultural geographer who analyzes sports landscapes, has argued that sports spaces have been confined and defined significantly in the modern era.[3] Segmentation of spectating and playing eras has ushered in the delineation of enclosed spaces, constantly monitored by police, which closely resemble other contested spaces of power such as prisons, hospitals, and schools.[4] Such comparisons have enabled scholars to compare the modern stadium to Foucault's history of the prison and his reading of Bentham's panoptical schema as well.[5] Just as Foucault's history of punishment traced the evolution of public discipline into private, segmented prisons, the modern stadium has evolved from an open and free arena of spectating into a highly disciplined and controlled environment.[6]

I build on these perspectives by tracing the development of the controlled environment before the Taylor Report. Rather than assuming that all-seated stadiums provided a necessary answer to football violence once and for all, I see the seated stadiums as the last piece of a long line of developments in architectural and

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[3] John Bale, *Sport, Space and the City* (London: Routledge, 1992); Bale, "The Spatial Development of the Modern Stadium," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 28:2-3 (1993), 122-33.

[4] John Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994).

[5] Gary Armstrong and Malcolm Young, "Legislators and Interpreters: The Law and 'Football Hooligans'," in Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, eds., *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football* (Oxford: Berg, 1997). Foucault's various work on prisons, clinics, and social discipline informs a wide body of social research into power and power relationships in the modern world. See Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York: Pantheon, 1965); *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (New York: Pantheon, 1973); *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1977).

[6] See Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport*, 83-84.

environmental control of football spaces that occurred at government behest. The modern stadium was not created out of a social and political vacuum, but rather over time and through significant contests for power and social control. Rather than merely conceptualizing the stadium as a Foucauldian space, I will make clear the multiple physical divisions within the stadium that the British government and British police attempted to institute throughout the 1970s, revealing an evolution in disciplinary spatial practices. My evidence is culled from private government files—correspondence, meeting minutes, memos, briefs, press clippings—collected by the Home Office and the Department of the Environment as they contemplated answers to the social problem of football violence. Furthermore, police reports and oral testimonies also enable me to look at the negotiation of meaning and contestation over physical spaces both within and outside the stadiums during the late 1960s and 1970s. In much of Foucault's work, power, in its various devilish and capillary manifestations, often goes uncontested. This chapter will also address the adverse social reactions, among football supporters and clubs, to the government implementation of physical discipline. Finally, I also call upon Jonathan Crary's development of the concept of attention to discuss the ways in which disciplined spaces in stadiums and railcars were meant to manufacture focused, disciplined, and conditioned behavior.

This chapter first outlines the divisions of physical space employed in stadiums during the emergence of football disorder, from the late 1960s to 1970s. The strategies of spatial division better assisted police work and aimed at keeping fans controlled within specific spaces. This occurred both inside and outside the stadiums, including the spaces

traveling fans inhabited along the paths to matches. Second, I evaluate the government's drive for architectural changes as a key element of their total policy against football violence. Denis Howell's leadership figured heavily in creating a mentality of social discipline and concretized policies of containment in development since the 1960s. Evidence shows that these changes created an environment that facilitated violence as much as it discouraged it. Third, spectators who inhabited these areas intermittently invested them with various social meanings: belonging, territoriality, and community, among others. These values contrasted with many of the divisive implementations that aimed at breaking apart physical spaces and divesting them of social meaning. In addition, clubs often resisted costly architectural planning and construction. The third section evaluates the various resistances to the state's implementation of its spatial policies in British football. The final section looks at British Rail's controls on railways and rail stations, the spaces most likely to see football violence outside the stadium. Overall, the chapter traces the changes in physical environments of stadiums that resulted in a highly disciplined sports setting where spatial divisions facilitated a total policy of containment through the perceived threat of violence.

The Development of Physical Space Divisions in Football

The government instituted several spatial divisions before making spatial organization a priority in the late 1960s. The first walls and fences produced around the stadium were developed in order for clubs to charge for admission. They provided a

secondary function of keeping out undesirables.[7] Second, the gradual territorialization and separation between the terraces and the stands provided a common way of distinguishing between groups of spectators. Working-class fans who wanted the communal experience of football spectating amongst men and women of their cultural ilk, or could not afford more expensive seated facilities, inhabited the uncovered terraces. Other , who sought to take in the 'gentleman's game', concentrated on the match itself rather than the experience of the terraces, and sat in high-cost seats in the covered stands. As elucidated in the first chapter, the distinction between different types of fans became concretized as terrace supporters became linked with football violence through the demonization of their working-class backgrounds. The division between seated spectators and terrace spectators hardened as these differences were encoded into the architectural environment of the stadium.

As early as 1946, the Metropolitan Police in London instituted other physical boundaries, especially during overcrowded matches, which helped to maintain a reasonably orderly stadium setting. Police in Millwall recommended that, "all grounds be enclosed by unassailable perimeter walls so as to render a closure capable of enforcement." They further suggested that, "grounds should be divided into a number of pens each capable of being closed when its capacity is reached and that internal movement be so controlled as to properly regiment the crowds." Their final recommendation: "Within the pens crush barriers should be staggered both parallel with

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[7] *Ibid,* 82.

the pitch as at present, and at right angles to the pitch so as to prevent the crowd swaying toward either end of the ground, as well as towards the pitch."[8] This report contained a very early police proposal for the main elements of physical division that would become mandatory in the 1970s: perimeter walls or fences, penning, and crush barriers. The final major element, segregating supporters by team partisanship, was in effect by 1952 at West Ham, where movement between fan enclosures was regulated tightly by the police, though more as a precaution against overcrowding than to separate rival factions.[9] As the violence escalated in the 1960s, these four major physical divisions not only concretized distinctions between different types of fans—the 'riff-raff' and the 'genuine' supporter—but also divided space between home and away fans as government officials and local police searched for remedies to the problem of football violence.

Politicians devoted to football governance, Home Office social scientists, and local police experimented with different physical orientations and divisions within the stadium that would separate rowdy fans from those seeking a more placid Saturday event. By the mid-1970s a total policy of containment emerged that effectively integrated perimeter fences, penning, crush barriers, gangways, and an overall policy of fan segregation and division. Perimeter fences proved efficient in separating the sacred playing field from the raucousness of the terraces. Aimed initially at preventing pitch invasions, perimeter fences eventually became part of the enclosed pens which aimed at

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[8] Metropolitan Police Report, Southwark Station, 27 March 1946. In PRO MEPO 2/7991.

[9] County Borough of East Ham, Borough Engineer and Surveyor's Department report on "West Ham Football Grounds Safety Precautions," 7 April 1952. In PRO MEPO 2/8245.

controlling crowd capacity and separating violent fans from non-violent sections of the stadium. Essentially, pens served two functions: they kept fans within the confines of the terraces and kept violence away from the rest of the stadium. Pens worked alongside the policy of fan segregation, which aimed at separating home and away fans in effort to minimize violent encounters between the two groups. Police ushered away fans from trains, along with anyone wearing the visiting team's colors, into a separate area of the stadium, defined by strong physical barriers and monitored stringently by police. Finally, crush barriers aimed at preventing 'surging' and excessive movement within the terraces. Placed both perpendicular and parallel to the field, crush barriers were steel or wood beams raised 3-4 feet high that prevented surges within the crowd.

Until football violence became recognized as a national problem in need of government intervention, attempts to manipulate the physical environment of football stadiums had been mostly instituted by clubs at the behest of local police. Usually, police formed barriers by positioning officers between the field of play and the terraces, and often between groups of rival fans. Using policemen as barriers took considerable manpower, however, and police often recommended that more permanent barricades be instituted. Police also frequently asked for cleared "gangways" within the terraces: pathways that police could travel to gain entry into crowded areas to keep order. Gangways also provided entry points for ambulancemen in case of an emergency. Such pathways were often lined by depressions within the terraces or with long, elevated steel rails. Police in both England and Scotland requested architectural obstructions that would allow their officers to attend to other tasks. Constable W.A. Ratcliffe, the

Assistant Chief Constable at Glasgow, in a memo delineating Scottish recommendations to the Home Office, stated, "The control of crowds inside a football stadium should where ever practicable be carried out by engineering means. Steel and concrete barricades should be used to channel the spectators on to the terracing. Terracing which is extensive should always have passageways and devices should be used to keep these passageways clear."[10] Commander Mitchell of the Metropolitan Police department agreed that, "at the request of police…vertical gangways have been fitted with protecting rails generally to assist police in the control of rowdyism whether by containing movement of a rowdy element behind goals or to facilitate the entry of police into a terrace."[11]

Government officials, especially those at the Home Office and DOE in charge of sport, gradually created policies of spatial division to aid police. Architectural manipulation became a key component in fighting football violence and separating rowdy fans from 'genuine' supporters. The divisions of physical space progressed over time from impromptu and makeshift developments at local clubs to national Home Office mandates. In order to understand how these policies developed, we can look at the evolution of physical policies by government agencies during the period. From the late 1960s through the 1970s several government commissions, including the Wheatley

[10] Appendix C to the Winterbottom Report, p. 2. The Winterbottom Report, never published by H.M.S.O. like other government publications, was kept for consultation by the subsequent Wheatley Commission. The report was submitted to the Home Office in June 1971 but kept within the agency so as to further facilitate Wheatley's investigation. It can be found in PRO HLG 120/1618. Appendix C was the "Memorandum on the Policing of Football Grounds in Scotland," prepared by Ratcliffe.

[11] Ibid, Appendix B, Memo on "Crowd Safety at Football Grounds," Commander Mitchell, 27 May 1971. In PRO HLG 120/1618.

licensing scheme (1969-72), the Safety at Sports Grounds Act (1973-5) and Howell's Working Party on Football Hooliganism (1973-7) generated multiple sets of architectural policies. Each set of recommendations built upon its predecessors and contributed to the ongoing expansion of architectural means of behavior control.

The Safety at Sports Grounds Bill enacted the recommendations of the Wheatley report, which though published in 1972, never became law until Labour reclaimed a majority. Though couched in the language of "crowd safety", the Bill addressed both popular fears about football disasters in unsafe, decrepit stadiums and the threat to the enjoyment of football leisure by disruptive, violent fans. "Crowd Safety" became a euphemism for the total cleanup of the football industry, from stadium provisions such as toilets and concessions to the architectural imposition of physical discipline. Through updating stadiums into modern, "safe" spaces for regulated entertainment, clubs and government officials could also battle disorderly fans by creating tightly controlled and divided terrace areas. As Richard Lane at the Home Office noted, "The line between measures for crowd safety and those for combating hooliganism can be very thin."[12] Broadly, the Bill constituted a strong central government intervention into the football industry and a major imposition into private, commercial leisure provided by football clubs. It created a licensing scheme that mandated updates to terrace structures, crush barriers, stairways, egress and ingress provisions, and other architectural considerations for crowd mobility and crowd control. Its delay in the debate stage stemmed from the

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[12] Richard Lane, Home Office to Mr. Skuffrey, 4 September 1974. In PRO HO 00/113, file 3.

lack of financial provision for clubs, especially the smallest ones, to implement the mandated changes quickly.[13] In constituencies like Manchester and London, both Labour and Conservative politicians milked the Bill for political capital and capitalized on public opinion against football violence, as the Bill promised changes to stadium landscapes that would further deter raucous behavior. As Denis Howell noted, "It is not just a question of how we can control large numbers of people gathered together in a sports ground. Considerations of safety for the public have become much wider than that. They involve questions of discipline—perhaps 'indiscipline' is the right word—of the followers of sport."[14] Clearly, government officials and police intimately linked crowd safety and behavioral control as congruent problems to be addressed by architectural manipulation. By tracing the development of the Bill, government correspondence and political debates generated by it, its preceding reports and Howell's follow-up Working Party, one can begin to trace a narrative of the gradual implementation of environmental discipline.

[13] Though the Bill was first introduced in 1972 shortly after the publication of the Wheatley report, it wasn't enacted until Howell solved the financial paradox. The state could not recommend drastic architectural changes to private stadiums without providing at least partial provision for the construction costs. Howell devised a solution by creating the Football Trust, an independent body in charge of distributing money for the changes. The Trust was funded by the "Spot the Ball" competition, a nationwide lottery based on determining the position of an absent ball in a sports photograph. For records on Howell's involvement in this process, see PRO AT 60/2 and AT 60/37. In addition to the lack of financial provision, football clubs also worried about immediate problems with new statutes. Thus, the Bill was not made completely statutory right away, but rather certain changes were implemented over time for clubs of different sizes and levels of financial stability.

[14] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 867 (19 June 1975), col. 1090-91. Second Reading of Safety at Sports Grounds Bill, presented by Denis Howell, Minister of Sport.

The Harrington Report, 1967-8

The 1967 Harrington Commission, the first government-sponsored investigation of football disorder, considered architectural manipulation briefly.[15] Police submissions to Harrington's research committee and the final report itself reveal the earliest suggestions for physical space divisions. The Chief Constable in York stated plainly what he wished would happen at all stadiums:

> "The proper definition of gangways, particularly in the popular and standing parts of the ground. In this respect I feel that more thought should be given to the provision of gangways as 'firebreaks' and indeed on some grounds where behaviour is particularly bad these areas could be split up and sealed off into 'pens' so as to prevent undue movement and to segregate the unruly. This would help overcome the difficulty the police face in sorting out the few trouble makers in a large group of people."

When asked to consider further what physical barriers might be helpful, he replied: "Perhaps if it was possible to segregate the two sections and 'contain the enemy', in the form of the hooligans, more active support might be forthcoming."[16] Not only did the constable recommend physical confinement for rival fans, but he also supported penning as a way of keeping violent terrace fans away from their seated counterparts and the field of play in general. The quote also suggests that public and political support could be created by showing that local police would not tolerate lawlessness within stadiums. The constriction of movement is the key element in this proposal for physical discipline:

[15] The Harrington investigation was carried out by J.A. Harrington, Research Director of the Birmingham Research Group. Its final recommendations were published as *Soccer Hooliganism: A Preliminary Report* (Bristol: John Wright and Sons, Ltd., 1968).

[16] Submission to Harrington Commission from Cyril T.G. Carter, Chief Constable's Office at York, 18 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

decreased mobility purportedly precluded activities such as fighting, swaying, and surging. His sentiments were representative of many of the police reports submitted for Harrington's review.

Another submission from Glasgow's chief constable, called for means of control for "packing" the pens as fans entered the terraces. He complained that, "when cash payment is being made there is no way of limiting the admissions to any part of the ground. This results in bad packing and reduced freedom of movement for police." He recommended turnstile counters and radio control towers that could determine when to close the pens based on crowd density.[17] Police, by the 1960s, were experienced in controlling crowd densities among terraces, but the advent of penning policies made filling the pens to a proper density a more detailed endeavor. Preferably, officers allowed fans entrance to the pens to an ideal mass where fan mobility was sufficiently restricted, but gangways were kept clear for police intervention. Minimizing the possibility of spectators' physical movement while simultaneously allowing police to enter the crowd and make arrests or ejections became a constant question for football police.

In the same submission, Constable Robertson also suggested that English and Scottish stadiums borrow the continental practice of fencing off the perimeter of the field to prevent pitch invasions and other disruptions to the most protected and sacred space in

[17] Submission to Harrington Commission by City of Glasgow Police Headquarters, J.A. Robertson, Chief Constable, 1 November 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

the stadium: the playing field.[18] He bluntly stated his opinion of pitch invasions: "This is controlled in other countries by ditches and wire netting. Assuming the crowd is to be abandoned to its own furies, these are excellent." Otherwise, "[crowds] prevent the police from taking prisoners down to the track and from sending reinforcements from the track on to the terracing." The constable's comments confirm that police attitudes could be extremely hostile to fans. The association between vicious animals in cages and rowdy fans in pens is perceptible in the constable's comments as well. Penning became not only a means of control but also a punishment for fans in some police districts. Inasmuch as penning helped distribute crowds throughout the terrace areas and kept disorderly fans off of the field of play, the pens also resembled cages where raucous spectators could enact their violent theatre without disturbing the rest of the attendees. The constable also suggests that some police preferred not to interfere or uphold the preference for order during terrace conflicts, preferring not to bother with fan conflict. Others hoped to maintain tranquil behavior through intermittent interventions into the pen.

In the final report in 1968, Harrington followed the constables' directions and recommended an integrated series of architectural innovations that would work together to control fan violence. The report concluded that any kind of perimeter barrier could be particularly useful in light of the Glasgow constable's observation of European success experimenting with wire fences and ditches. The report added, though, that, "wire

[18] For works on fan violence in other parts of Europe and Latin America, see Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy, Ivan Waddington, and Antonios E. Astrinakis, *Fighting Fans: Football Hooliganism as a World Phenomenon* (Dublin: University College Press, 2002).

fencing interferes with vision and may inflame the crowd, and ditches filled with water may be preferable."[19] The commission also recommended that these concrete ditches be bridged in certain areas for police access. Such barriers would be difficult to climb and, "considerably reduce the number of police required to patrol the perimeter as only a few would be required to control the bridges." Other gangways and tunnels connected to pens needed to remain unblocked or were useless. The commission also suggested that clubs and police make the most of existing barriers in stadiums where the playing field was surrounded by a running track, as at Wembley in North London and Ibrox and Hampden Park in Glasgow, the three largest stadiums in Britain. "Where such a track is impossible a steel barrier in the form of an arc behind the goal pushing the spectators well back has been shown to reduce considerably the throwing of articles at the goalposts."[20] Such barriers also increased the space between the field and the terraces, thus allowing police more time to impede possible pitch invaders.

Overall, the Harrington Report provided the first recommendations for architectural barriers to divide, discipline, and suppress the raucous behavior of terrace supporters. The report collected the advice and assembled the experiences of constables across Britain, and disseminated this information to all participants, the public, and the national government. It provided the Home Office with a general idea of where subsequent legislation regarding stadium environments might be successful, and provided misleading physical explanations to a wide array of social and cultural conflicts enacted

[19] Harrington Report, final recommendations, p. 33.

[20] *Ibid,* 34.

at football stadiums. The final recommendations—namely the policies of enclosed penning, fan segregation, and gangway provision—established a foundation on which subsequent government officials could build the architectural component of the solution to football disorder and fan violence. In essence, the research committee gathered a wide assortment of impromptu physical space implementations which displayed little regard for spectators' wellbeing and shared them with constables and the Home Office, thus providing a starting point for ensuing legislative mandates.

The Lang Report, 1968-9

A year later, Sir John Lang chaired the first "Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches," requested by Denis Howell and the Labour party to investigate crowd disturbances in a more formal and authoritative fashion than Harrington's experimental survey. Under Lang, a party of technicians, football authorities, Home Office representatives and police directors visited clubs, held discussions with local police forces, and reported back to the Minister for Sport throughout the 1968-69 season.[21] While the report addressed many of the same questions about violence prevention, player discipline, police organization, and crowd safety as the Harrington report, during its preparation members engaged in long debates over perimeter fencing and police access. The debates, conducted in meetings with constables and club

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[21] The final recommendations of the Lang Report were published as *Report of the Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches* (London: H.M.S.O., 1969).

leadership, revealed the multiple suggestions and complications introducing perimeter fences and crowd enclosures engendered.

The most prominent topic during the investigations became the usefulness of perimeter fencing and its possible dangers to terrace supporters. At Newcastle in May 1969 a pitch invasion threatened to cancel the results of a nearly completed match between Newcastle F.C. and Glasgow Rangers. It was evident from the fans' behavior that the invasion, carried out by nearly 500 spectators, was meant not only disrupt the match but to encourage the referee and football officials to call for a replay. While visiting St. James Park in Newcastle, Lang's Working Party engaged in a lengthy discussion with local police over the difficulties caused by perimeter fencing and enclosed fan terraces. Police at Newcastle argued that although a few meant to have the game cancelled, policemen on the spot acted quickly to pull spectators over the low barrier and onto the pitch to avoid crushing at the front of the enclosure. They reacted negatively to the Working Party's suggestion of raising the barrier from four feet to eight feet tall. The police noted that, "the invasion of the pitch acted as a safety valve, it provided an outlet for the tension which had gradually built up to subside. A very high fence would have prevented spectators getting to safety from the 'centre of trouble' and made it difficult for ambulance men to have got into the crowd to attend to or even reach spectators in need of attention."[22] They recommended that if the Party wished to recommend higher fences at all grounds, perimeter fences should be equipped with gates

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[22] Notes of Meeting held at St. James Park, Newcastle, 2 June 1969. Working Party notes, PRO HO 287/1500.

to relieve pressure at the front or bottom of the enclosures where people could be crushed against the barriers, and "escape spaces" be provided between the field and the perimeter.

In preparing the final draft of the Lang Report, members of the committee debated over the stringency with which to suggest higher, tougher perimeter fencing and barriers. Early drafts included extra paragraphs which addressed the "safety valve" approach to perimeter fences and warned clubs planning on installing high barriers of the dangers of tight enclosures:

> The question of erecting barriers designed to prevent spectators from invading the pitch and thus interfering with play can present difficulties. In theory, it would be possible to say that it is essential wherever serious encroachment on the playing area is to be apprehended – and this would apply to any ground likely to be used often for very important matches – such barriers should be erected. We are thinking in terms of an 'unclimbable' fence to a height of not less than six feet above the playing surface which while permitting spectators to view the game would effectively prevent any serious invasion of the pitch. Barriers of this kind are frequently seen at the more important stadia overseas. But escape on to the pitch is sometimes the only way in which spectators who are uncomfortably close to fighting and other dangerous incidents developing in the middle of a crowd can remove themselves to safety…if such a barrier would lead to the elimination of an escape route from a dangerous situation, it should not be erected but in lieu additional police, who should face the crowd at moments of excitement, should be stationed in parts of the ground at which trouble is thought possible.[23]

The paragraph would have clearly warned clubs that enclosures could become dangerous as spectators could not avoid fights, swaying, crushing, or riots if they occurred within the enclosed pens without an escape outlet through the fence barrier nearest the pitch. Lang intended to include the paragraph in the section on perimeter policing but faced strong opposition from other members of the Party.

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[23] Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches, "Modifications to Final Report proposed by the Chairman." In PRO HO 287/1500.

Though the Party meant to provide counsel on ideal architectural conditions, they also remained responsible for presenting a message to the public of total control and future safety at football matches through the absolute elimination of football violence. Thus, several members opposed any spectators on the pitch whatsoever, regardless of the circumstances. Many members seemed willing to compromise spectator safety for the purposes of political theater. Walter Winterbottom, former England national team manager and director of the national Sports Council objected to the paragraph's inclusion because he felt that spectators should seek the exits and the top of the terraces, where they entered the enclosure. He argued to the other members in his draft comments, "I am not at all keen about the proposed alteration…I think it is an exaggeration to say that when a disturbance occurs on the terraces the first thought of the spectator who is not involved is to rush on to the football field."[24] However, close packing of the enclosures aimed at restricting mobility of the crowd entirely, especially during large derby matches where crowd disturbances were more likely. It would take great effort and much time for an individual to move through the forcefully packed crowd and up the terraces, especially during moments of panic. Achieving exit through the upper entrances rather than over or through the front barriers would be nearly impossible during large disturbances, small riots, or group fighting within the enclosures.

Mr. Denis Follows, representative to the Party from the Football Association, objected strongly as well, fearing the caveat revealed the lack of authority and control

[24] Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches, "Wording of Report, Incorporating the Modifications proposed by the Chariman (and Others)," p. 2. in PRO HO 300/83.

within the stadium environment. "In the first place may I say that I do not agree in principle with the philosophy that a football pitch should be used as a kind of escape route for spectators involved in disorder on the terrace," he argued. "I think this is a philosophy of defeatism. Certain grounds must have bigger barriers between the spectators and the playing pitch…This is ridiculous." He further protested that using police instead of six-foot tall barriers prevented them from being among the crowd and attending to the disturbances themselves when they arose.[25] Though the final resolution to the debate is unclear, chairman Lang dropped the warning paragraphs from the final copy of the report. Such debates revealed that members of the 1969 Working Party knew of the potential dangers of enclosing fans without proper outlets for their safety, were warned by police of the potential for disaster on several occasions, and still neglected to include these warnings in their endorsement of stronger and taller perimeter barriers.

Instead, the section on physical space division in the Lang report proposed a multifaceted model that comprehensively accounted for crowd mobility and crowd disorder through a variety of stadium modifications. Like the Harrington report, the Lang report envisioned a model architectural environment that elevated contemporary stadium standards to facilitate more invasive police practices. Horizontal and vertical barriers within the terraces aimed at penning fans within smaller enclosures that could control crowd mobility. Gangways provided entry for policemen into the crowd to stop any potential outbreaks of violence. New measures such as funneling systems of ingress,

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[25] Ibid, p. 4.

effective controls on total admission, and police-regulated crowd packing were also recommended. A laundry list of possible field barriers was also included, with suggestions for wooden fences, iron railings, brick or concrete walls, sunken terrace depressions, and dry moats topping the list. The report contained few warnings against the possibilities of "crushing" within enclosures, and only proposed that crowds should be packed tighter to prevent any movement at all. Despite the warnings of the Newcastle police and other football authorities who anticipated trouble with perimeter fences, the section on barriers recommended stronger divisions of physical space with little regard for spectator wellbeing.

The Winterbottom and Wheatley Reports, 1970-2

The third and final government commission of this period, the Wheatley inquiry, resulted in a licensing scheme to regulate stadium safety. The Wheatley commission proceeded in the aftermath of the Ibrox stadium disaster on 2 January 1971. As several spectators left the match during its conclusion, the home team Glasgow Rangers scored to tie the match. Several spectators on an old stairwell leading to the top of the terraces quickly reversed their direction to return to the terraces, and a build up of pressure occurred resulting in the collapse of the stairwell's barriers and 66 fatalities. The newly appointed Conservative administration quickly called for an investigation into stadium crowd safety and stadium modernization, chaired by Lord Wheatley. The commission's charge included a wide-ranging investigation of stadium security provisions and the

means by which further changes to stadium architecture could aid in the crackdown on football violence. The Wheatley investigation, like the Lang report, involved interviewing clubs, police liaisons, and fielding public suggestions for new approaches. The commission built on the frameworks for policing and physical space from the earlier investigations, but still recognized that many of the proposed solutions had not mitigated the problem of football violence.

Consequently, the commission adopted a more traditional scientific and experimental approach to physical space and the human body than its predecessors. Their penchant for modernist approaches to social problems can be seen in the methodological approach to football violence during the inquiry. The Home Office certainly encouraged this new agenda for social research into the problem, appointing a technical director and a committee of architectural officers to the party, while football and political representatives had composed the previous committees. The Conservative administration, and Eldon Griffiths at the newly minted Department of the Environment, expected concrete advances in deterrents to football violence through the proposed licensing scheme aimed at "crowd safety". The Wheatley commission also drew on several technical reports and experiments carried out by Home Office scientists and independent architectural firms to build a cache of evidence before determining the proper recommendations for football clubs. These reports often tested the physical limits of the body in tight, immobile enclosures in order to determine suitable conditions for spectating in terraces. In addition, shortly after the Ibrox disaster, Sports Council director Walter Winterbottom had begun his own investigation into stadium environments during

the latter half of the 1970-71 season, and turned over his research and recommendations to Wheatley's group. Winterbottom's report and evidence, though never published, proved a significant complement to Wheatley's own research, and included several technical reports as well.[26]

Shortly after the disaster, Home Office scientists drafted a brief report for cabinet-level ministers, including Eldon Griffiths and Henry Munro at the DOE, the point men for sports governance under the Conservatives. The report amassed research from local councils and professional architects. The Home Office's Chief Scientist and author of the report, C.J. Stephens, recognized the possible dangers encountered within terrace enclosures and aimed at determining their threat to safety. The report called for future technical experiments to ascertain,

> …the precise causes of injury or death in these situations. Both the construction or simulation models and the nature of preventive measures would differ according to the proportions in which it is found to be necessary to counter massive crushing forces causing collapse of the chest cage, traumatic asphyxiation, suffocation, trampling injury, pressure of the soft tissues against hard objects so as to cause internal injuries, or limb fractures. It would also be helpful to know whether these injuries are due to forces directly downwards on to the ground or sideways against firm structures, or between persons.[27]

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[26] Winterbottom's Report can be found in PRO HLG 120/1618. There was some Home Office conflict over whether or not to publish the report. Of course, Winterbottom, as a staunch advocate against football violence and something of a moral crusader himself, wanted to publish his findings. The Home Office and Eldon Griffiths, Secretary of the Department of the Environment, wanted Wheatley to have as many resources as possible. Further, they wanted to maintain that the government had proposed the licensing scheme and first report under the Conservatives, rather than the representatives for the Football League or the Sports Council. See the correspondence between Griffiths, Wheatley and Winterbottom in the latter half of PRO HLG 120/1618.

[27] C.J. Stephens, Chief Scientist of the Home Office, "A Brief Analysis of Some Scientific Aspects of Football Crowd Safety," submitted for Cabinet consideration, 29 March 1971, p.3. In PRO CAB 130/508.

Here, the body becomes the central focus of technical research and proposed experimentation. As several cases of crushing and physical injury had been reported both in the press and to government officials, the technical party focused their research on injury tolerance and the direct causes of physical damage within the terraces. By the mid-1970s, the government's insistence on containment and spatial organization led to experimental research on bodily injury and the possible violent outcomes of government-recommended spectator controls.

The stairwell incident at Ibrox directly reflected the possibility of a major accident within the terraces, as the two physical spaces (a terrace and a large stairwell) directly resembled one another. It became clear in the report that the possibility of a similar disaster in the standing accommodations alarmed the Home Office and the Department of the Environment, as well as the technical advisors. Thus, Stephens' report also recommended specialized scientific investigations into three main problems evident at Ibrox and other sites of physical injury at football matches: crush barrier placement, crowd movement, and terrace slope incline. Steep inclines and untested barriers could lead to serious injury when "domino-like movement" forced spectators into contact with the boundaries of physical enclosures.[28] Thus, further experimentation needed to determine possible injury zones:

> A thorough investigation of the statics of the pile-up: - what is the extent and shape of the lethal zone and of the non-lethal injury zone – how are these affected by such factors as the steepness of the slope, the height, width and depth of the

[28] Ibid, 2.

> steps, the presence of level landings, the nature and position of retaining barriers or hand-rails, crowd density, and so on.[29]

Again, technical advisors deemed scientific analysis necessary to determine possible bodily injuries within delineated spaces. Further, the quote implied that non-lethal injury may be an acceptable outcome of enclosed spaces if lethal injuries can be avoided. Presumably, experimentation to determine the exact physics of pressure and motion against crush barriers on steep slopes would reveal the acceptable limits for bodily damage. As evidenced in this report, the Home Office adopted a policy of scientific experimentation that would provide precise technical answers to questions raised by dangerous stadium environments. In general, the proposed experimentation and early conclusions do not show great concern for the wellbeing of spectators, but rather a rugged determination to define the limits for acceptable bodily injury. The modern, methodological approach focused on the body and the implications of corporeal damage within the punitive physical environments created to enforce mobility discipline against spectators. The platform for social research into football violence now incorporated research onto the bodies of suspected perpetrators.

In addition, Winterbottom's research focused on defining divisions of space that demarcated acceptable physical dimensions per person within terraced areas of the stadium. The endless search for technical precision characterized Winterbottom's investigation as he attempted to create the ideal physical conditions to recommend to football clubs. After surveying nearly sixty stadiums, Winterbottom concluded that when

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[29] Ibid, 3.

packed to maximum densities, some terraces only provided 1' widths of space to each spectator. He recommended 1'9" minimum, and a mere 2.25 square feet of occupied space per person. Slope inclines at some stadiums also could be at a ratio of 1:2 with 8-9" rises per 14" flat step.[30] While this provided excellent sight lines for spectators, "we are of the opinion that this is too steep a slope for big terraces making it necessary to have more transverse barriers, separated by fewer steps of terrace," he stated.[31] These small spaces and dangerous slopes could easily foster serious injury during times of swaying or in panic situations within enclosures.

Winterbottom also oversaw laboratory testing on crush barriers at several grounds that produced "chest pressure tolerance thresholds" to be considered when clubs determined the construction of new steel rails. After witnessing engineering tests at Crystal Palace and Sheffield United's grounds he concluded that 206 pounds per foot was the maximum physical pressure the human body could withstand. He added that, "the size of the barrier will no doubt affect the tolerable chest pressure and hence both barrier spacing and design load."[32] In essence, Winterbottom wanted to determine the limits of pressure on the body in order to establish where to place physical dividers such as crush

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[30] Winterbottom's figures here may also reflect knowledge of the SCICON report, an independently researched technical report on terrace spacing, crush barriers, gangways, and ingress and egress. The SCICON report can be found in PRO HO 300/85, file 5. It eventually was published as Appendix A in the final Wheatley report as well.

[31] Final Winterbottom Report submitted to Eldon Griffiths at the Department of the Environment, officially titled, "Report of the Team Appointed to Consult Football Clubs on Safety of Grounds," June 1971. In PRO HLG 120/1618.

[32] Ibid, 9.

barriers and terrace gangways so as to maintain limited crowd mobility without major injury.

The creation of an imaginary stable environment with minimal physical threats enabled Winterbottom to continue to recommend disciplined structural spaces that aimed at minimizing football violence. Such an ideal space could not be constructed without technical experimentation of the limits of the average human body under extreme pressures. While such experiments were not done on actual persons, simulations allowed the technical advisors to recreate the conditions and dynamics of swaying and surging within enclosed terraces. In sum, the physical limits of the human body determined the spacing and strength of physical barriers implemented into the architectural skeleton of any given sports ground. As one Winterbottom commission document summarized nicely: "Human injury tolerance is a further important factor closely related to the design and planning of barriers, staircases, etc."[33] Adopting the language of modern engineering and architecture made scientific experimentation an acceptable practice for government-sanctioned social research into the question of football violence. The Wheatley and Winterbottom reports pursued this direction with the precision of scientific experimentation and laboratory testing, formulating acceptable limits to physical enclosure and bodily pressure thresholds with pseudo-scientific precision. By the early 1970s, state-supported government research had generated a scientific concern not only with physical environments, but also the limits of the physical body, as government

[33] Winterbottom Report, "Technical Appendix II: Existing Information and Sources," 2. In PRO HLG 120/1618.

agencies attempted to discipline football spectators through the design of the stadiums they patronized.

Denis Howell and the Total Policy of Containment

Denis Howell, as in his righteous castigation of rowdy football spectators, played a significant role in the development of physical space policies. As Minister for Sport from 1964-70 and 1974-9, Howell served the Labour Party by being at the forefront of the battle against football violence in English, Scottish and Welsh stadiums. Howell oversaw the Harrington and Lang reports, two independently commissioned investigations into football hooliganism, during his first term. While the Conservatives held the Parliament during the early 1970s, Howell closely followed his counterpart, Minister for Sport Henry Munro (1970-4) and pushed the Parliament to debate the Safety at Sports Grounds Bill. By the time the Conservatives lost control of Parliament, Howell reassumed his position, quickly created a Working Party to stamp out the growing incidence of football violence, and claimed credit for himself and Labour in finally passing the Sports Grounds Bill into law.

After reassuming a more dominant role in ministerial politics, Howell aimed at finalizing a total policy of containment in order to discipline the spectating of football fans. He consistently sought to limit spectators' overall mobility and design architectural standards for modern stadiums that threatened fans with built-in consequences for football violence. Howell, more than any other political figure or football authority,

aspired to stamp out what he defined as morally corrupt football violence through the menace of compensatory violence. After he and other government and football officials concretized the discursive demonization of football "hooligans" in the press, strict discipline and assertive aggression against disorderly spectators faced little opposition from the general public. Though his efforts at increasing police powers and stretching the legal threat of stricter punishments are explored in later chapters, his efforts at building an environment that threatened spectators with retaliatory discipline are the focus of this section.

By the 1974-5 season, when Howell's Working Party traveled to nearly every large sports ground within Britain, his office advocated stronger political language, making more adamant recommendations about segregation and terrace divisions. The troubles with English fans abroad during the season spurred tougher restrictions on European matches as well.[34] The Party's primary tactic of restricting spectators' mobility extended to environments inside and outside the stadium. As one Home Office official stated, "The Working Party's basic strategy is now to improve the effectiveness of the policy of containment, while considering the scope for more positive action such as fundamental research into the motivation of hooliganism. The containment strategy can be sub-divided into behaviour inside the stadia, transport to and from matches, and control of crowds between bus and coach stations and football grounds."[35] The

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[34] See 1976/77 Home Office Circular, which included the recommendations issued in July 1975 after the first round of foreign incidents. In PRO HO 300/113, file 22A.

[35] D.A.S. Sharp, Home Office to Sir Robert Marshall (Conservative, Arundel), undated [July 1975]. In PRO AT 60/39.

fundamental division between inside and outside the stadium had long been in discussion amongst government authorities, mainly because it determined whether clubs or the state paid the policing costs at each match. After problems with traveling spectators on trains, ferries, and coaches in both domestic and foreign matches, Howell also increased efforts to police fan behavior outside of the stadium as well. As will be shown, the Working Party endeavored to establish a working relationship with British Rail, the primary provider of travel accommodations for away fans. It also endeavored to avoid problems with rowdy fans outside sports grounds by keeping them within stadium confines.

Generally, the Working Party's approach to policing behavior outside stadiums was to keep spectators enclosed in divided terraces within the stadium in the first place. Fan violence could be more effectively policed and perpetrators apprehended when physical boundaries diminished the success of spectators' flight. Keeping spectators inside also reduced the amount of criminal damage done to local shops and plazas when spectators stormed the area, as well as to unmanned railway stations. As one Scotland Yard commissioner stated, "There is no doubt that as supervision is increased progressively through these phases so the disorder is retarded and this ultimately results in damage to trains and railway stations where, because of circumstances, they are temporarily without effective supervision by police."[36] The displacement of fan violence onto the streets, pubs, and rail stations outside the stadiums occurred during a time when

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[36] Deputy Assistant Commissioner for Operations, New Scotland Yard, prepared notes for meeting with Home Office on 13 August 1970. Enclosed in letter to D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office, 7 September 1970. In PRO HO 287/2052 (Part Two).

police demands within the stadium already taxed available police officers and local police resources.[37] Police and government officials feared what violent activities spectators would engage in without physical boundaries to prevent flight, especially when open city spaces often had fewer police patrols than normal. This concern, in some areas, lead to police advocating fewer ejections when fans caused disruptions. When police ejected fans they removed them from a confined, regulated, and surveilled space into open settings where more space and idle time could lead to staged fights or group ambushes during or after matches.[38] Howell's Working Party, in consultation with reputable police authorities in several different areas of Britain, accordingly attempted to keep disorderly fans within closely supervised terrace enclosures with limited mobility.

Once within the stadium, spectators in the mid-1970s encountered stricter constraints on their mobility under the Working Party's governance. The Party pressured clubs into converting all terrace spaces into tightly packed pens to prevent their ability to move. "Crowds have movement available. We must stop that by dividing up these large areas in some way. I am in favour of doing it by isolating parts of the crowds with specific entrances and exits," Howell noted shortly after assuming leadership of the Working Party.[39] When discussing reducing overall match attendances during derby contests, the Party secretary commented that, "It can be dangerous to reduce the capacity

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[37] The argument for the displacement of fan violence has been made effectively by tracking the spatial orientations of Sheffield fans. See Gary Armstrong, *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score* (New York: Berg, 1998), Chapter Eight.

[38] See, for example, Mr. Gerrard's comments in Note of a Meeting with Representatives of the Football Interests at the Home Office, 13 August, 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

[39] Editorial by Howell in the *Daily Mail*, 20 March 1974.

too much as this only makes more space to be pushed into if there should be any congested spots."[40] The Working Party undoubtedly found packed pens to be the strongest disciplinary implement within the arsenal of physical space transformations.

Segregation also became a more regimented element within the arsenal of physical discipline in the mid-1970s. Segregation provided the most direct means by which rival groups of fans could be separated, especially during matches where rivalries between groups could be heated. Howell retrospectively admitted that, "I had to segregate fans because we'd got these terrible fights going on. I thought the only way I could deal with it at that moment was to make sure that the two sets of rival supporters were kept apart."[41] Howell's desperation led him to promote segregation as a resolution to the problem of fan violence, when practically the strategy actually increased hostilities between fans. One fan remembered that, "a lot of it wasn't about the fights. The police made it a confrontational situation by keeping us apart."[42] Dividing fans into separate enclosures often encouraged territorial meanings that fans could engender with specific spaces within the stadiums. Territorialities often bred spectator violence as rival groups sought to defend terrace areas from one another. Segregation also clearly defined the opposition: rival fans knew where other fans spent the majority of the game, where they gathered, and often how they could be attacked. Furthermore, these segregated

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[40] Letter from Secretary to Denis Howell (unnamed) to G.T. Walsh, Liverpool resident, 16 April 1974. In PRO AT 25/246.

[41] In Rogan Taylor and Andrew Ward, eds., *Kicking and Screaming: An Oral History of Football in England* (London: Robson Books, 1995), 263.

[42] In Tom Watt ed., *The End: 80 Years of Life on Arsenal's North Bank* (London: Mainstream Publishing, 1993), 161.

enclosures usually bordered one another, allowing defined groups to be within inches of each other, facilitating missile throwing and verbal abuse. In one particular situation at Ayresome Park in Middlesbrough, police erected the tarps used to cover goal areas during rainstorms in order to prevent the segregated groups from seeing one another. The impromptu measure worked to prevent rival spectators from aiming tossed stones and bottles at one another.[43] Spectator segregation, in many cases, worked against police as it encouraged the definition of opposition and implicitly promoted confrontation.

When Howell visited most of the biggest clubs in Britain during his Working Party tour, he found that most clubs had implemented changes in line with his strict spatial recommendations, especially those regarding perimeter fencing. At Birmingham, the physical arrangements at the city's large stadium pleased the Working Party. The club had instituted several layers of protection between the fans and the playing field. The terraces were sunken below the level of the playing field, requiring fans to climb out to invade the pitch. Birmingham City F.C. had also installed perimeter fencing atop the barriers of the terrace, and used taller advertising boards as a deterrent to pitch invasions. A final gap between the field and the terraces was constantly patrolled by the police.[44] Essentially, four obstacles divided fans from the pitch. Most other clubs mimicked these

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[43] Cleveland Constabulary Report on 5th Round F.A. Cup Match, Middlesbrough vs. Arsenal, Ayresome Park, Middlesbrough, 24 March 1977. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[44] "Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Birmingham City," 1 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

arrangements, though some used segregative strategies only during rivalry matches.[45] At Queens Park Rangers' ground in west-central London, the club told the ministers that, "the police believed that 100% security could never be obtained without the provision of fences." They stated that, "it was only a matter of time before a player or referee was badly hurt by a spectator." The Working Party agreed, adding that the combination of crowd sectioning and fenced enclosures would lead to total security.[46] Scottish constables also felt that the implementation of fencing and spatial barriers at Hampden Park lined up with the Party's policies. "It had made possible some changes in police deployment which had resulted in a reduction in total manpower required for policing," they remarked.[47] Both government representatives and clubs benefited from lower police costs as fences allowed officers to patrol other areas.

According to a former manager, Arsenal football club experimented with a separate cage to temporarily corral spectators who had been apprehended by the police. Terry Neill remembered that,

> At Highbury we tried to surmount this problem [fan disorder] by having a caged-in area where we could detain troublemakers until they could be dealt with later. But a roving TV camera at one of our matches spotted the 'cage' and it was quite

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[45] The Party's visits to most first division grounds generally reveal the same physical divisions in place: sunken terraces, police pathways, divided terraces, advertising barriers, and some combination of sectioning or penning, especially during derby matches. Howell's party visited each ground, made some small recommendations for improvement, and discussed any new ideas with local police. See entire contents of PRO HO 300/112.

[46] "Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Queens' Park Rangers," 10 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

[47] "Note of Secretary of State's Meeting with Representative Chief Constables in Connection with Football Hooliganism," 15 October 1976, Glasgow. In PRO HO 287/2055.

> properly pointed out that to detain people in this manner was illegal, so we had to get rid of our cage.[48]

This apparatus resembled a holding room or prison cell where police could temporarily detain arrested persons while they were being processed, or to prevent them from participating in spectator conflicts for the rest of the day. Holding rooms became a fixture of police requests to clubs at many grounds, and were consistently recommended by the Working Party as well.[49] However, Neill correctly discerned that unlawful detention constituted a breach in civil rights. The incident also disclosed that clubs and police considered the possible public backlash against the ever-increasing severity of discipline.

Though Howell fought tirelessly for stricter regulations on crowd movement and draconian measures to enclose and divide fans, he often feared the prospect of crowd disasters and fatalities. He consistently maintained the necessity of police intervention, both to prevent criminal assaults within the enclosures and to ensure officers could aid in emptying the areas in case of emergency. Police intervention could only be facilitated by gateways in the perimeter barriers.[50] In a public address to the Commons, Howell surmised that European police did not enter the crowd, "because in Europe they do not want to. They have a different approach from ours. They put all the spectators together,

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[48] In *The End,* 162.

[49] See the Harrington Report, p. 36; the Lang Report, p. 9.

[50] See letter from Denis Howell to R.H. Jennings Esq., Managing Director, QED Engineering Limited, 11 July 1974. In PRO HO 300/112, file 43. Howell forwarded a commercial reference for collapsible fencing from one of his constituents in Birmingham onto other clubs. In the attached notes, he adamantly maintained the need for gateways in perimeter fences.

pen them up and say, in effect, 'It is up to you. We are not coming in.' That is not our approach. We attach great importance to the ability of the police to get in and out of the terraces when they want to."[51] Howell therefore emphasized the importance of gangways, walkways and dry moats where police could freely roam and monitor the crowd. In practice, though, the prospect of crowd intervention remained at the discretion of police officers.

Howell also fielded a wide range of commercial barrier products that reveal the multiple problems spatial divisions generated. For the most part, Howell only passed on these private engineering plans to the major clubs, who would have been responsible for payment and installation. One engineering firm devised a series of collapsible fences that withheld more pressure than standard chain-link fences, interfered less with sight lines, and collapsed at the push of a button in a central control tower. Thus, if the need to avert a crisis arose, the fence could collapse and allow fans to avoid danger.[52] Another commercial firm marketed a sprinkler system, which when embedded in the grass around the pitch, would spray colored dye on transgressors. The spectators could then be later identified by police for prosecution. The firm advertised their barrier as a more humane alternative than penning and enclosures:

> The measures taken must not insult the good nature of most fans, the object of the game being to entertain them, not to 'impound' them. It therefore seems to be quite unacceptable to fence in the crowd. Treat a human like an animal and he

[51] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 893 (19 June 1975), col. 1800.

[52] Letter from QED Engineering Limited to Denis Howell, 17 June 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

> might well react with the law of the jungle. But most important of all, the action taken must work – work by deterring rather than imprisoning.[53]

The firm, McDonnell and Hughes Architects, openly challenged the fundamental premise of crowd enclosure and suggested that enclosing fans might paradoxically lead to further acts of violence. The language also suggests that incarceration presented fans as animals, an image all football and government authorities wished to avoid. Physical space divisions needed to be handled delicately in order not to inflame the public. Government and club authorities intended to employ spatial implements that enacted physical discipline and warned against possible transgressions without seeming overly aggressive and draconian.

Constables at Merseyside Police recommended against the sprinkler system's performance. Their recommendations to the Working Party indicate how police and the state struggled to balance discipline with embarrassment. Chief Constable Haughton specified that the dye would be difficult to control on windy days, leading to possible misidentifications as well as possible injury to police, stewards, and referees as well as spectators. His most astute observation, however, was that, "in these days the dye would probably be carried as a 'badge of honour' by the hooligan." He also added that, "the proposition sounds at least as 'barbaric' as the simple proposition of fencing in and is

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[53] McDonnell and Hughes Architects, Plan for Pitch Invasion Deterrent. Sent to Liverpool City Police, 15 May 1974. The plan was immediately forwarded to Denis Howell, 28 May 1974. In PRO HO 300/112, file 40.

likely to provoke re-action."[54] Police, like government officials, paid close attention to public opinion about the consequences, dangers, and perceptions of spatial divisions.

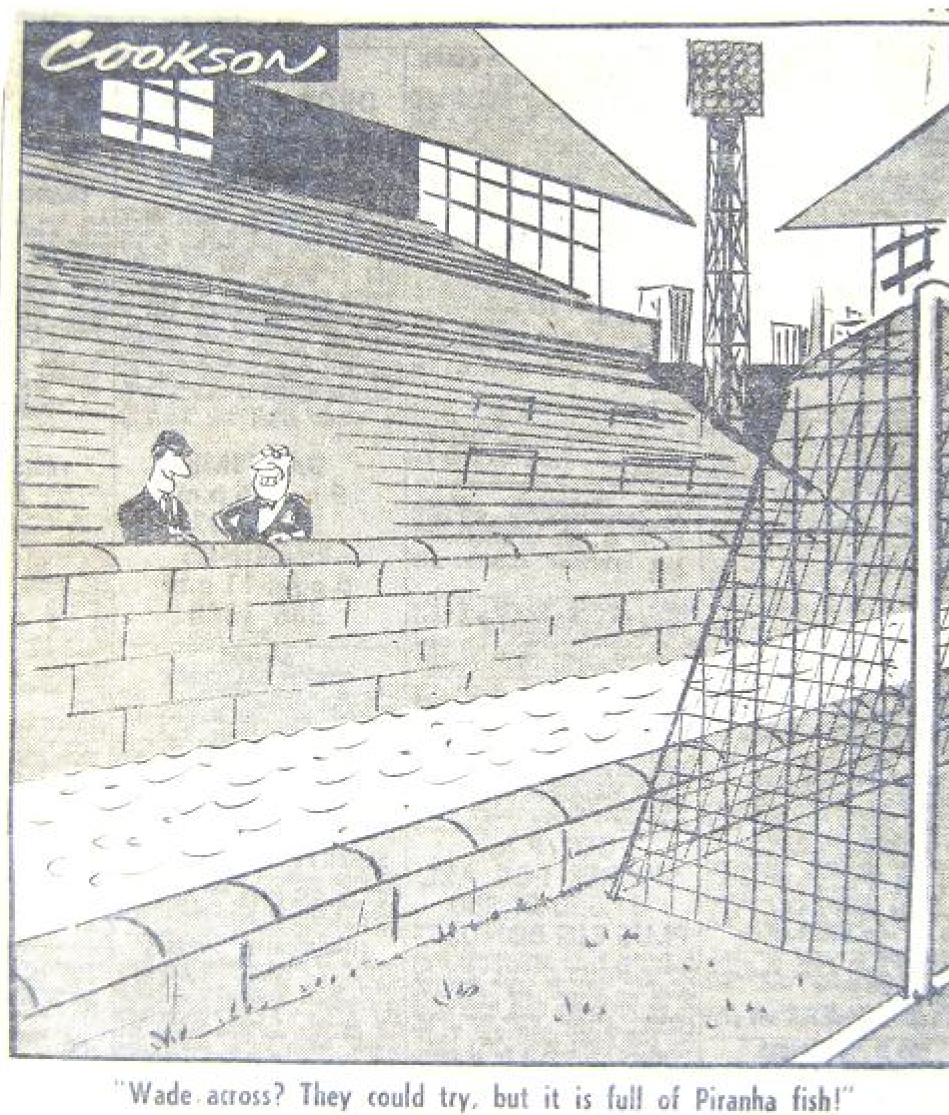

Figure 1. *The Evening News* mocked Denis Howell's attempt at moats 29 April, 1974.

[54] Letter from Deputy Chief Constable at Merseyside Police to Denis Howell, 28 May 1974. In PRO HO 300/112, file 40.

Press reactions to Howell's proposals reveal that journalists also recognized that such measures could be dangerous and intimidating, and wanted to pass on similar messages to their readership. While most press commentators supported the crackdown on disruptive fan behavior, some mocked the physical divisions Howell recommended. The *Evening Standard* recognized that the implementation of perimeter fencing at England's national Wembley stadium, resembled an animal 'cage'.[55] An *Evening News* cartoonist facetiously suggested that Howell might fill the dividing moats with piranhas to further deter pitch invaders (see Figure 1).[56] Another intimated that fans would respond by building catapults to launch young spectators onto the field of play (see Figure 2).[57] Both cartoons appeared after Howell commented publicly on the need for perimeter fencing and segregation, and the first caricature specifically villainized Howell. Such expressions show that commentators recognized the rapidly escalating measures Howell meant to institute, as well as the public displeasure, especially among football fans, that they generated.

Public charges of brutality against spectators concerned Denis Howell and other police and government authorities. They consistently attempted to find a balance between architectural tools of discipline and the adverse public reactions against them. Implementing further changes and harsher disciplinary language against rowdy spectators

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[55] "Wembley to Put 'Cage' Around Fans," *The Evening Standard,* 5 February 1975. The Working Party's secretarial staff collected this and other press articles in PRO HO 300/113.

[56] *The Evening Standard,* 29 April 1974, p. 11.

[57] *The Daily Express*, 24 May 1974.

became a constant process throughout 1974-76. But, maintaining the moral high ground through exerting discipline could not be compromised: government officials could not demonize spectators as inhumane and undisciplined if they failed to show equal restraint in their reactions to fan violence. Howell understood this tension better than other

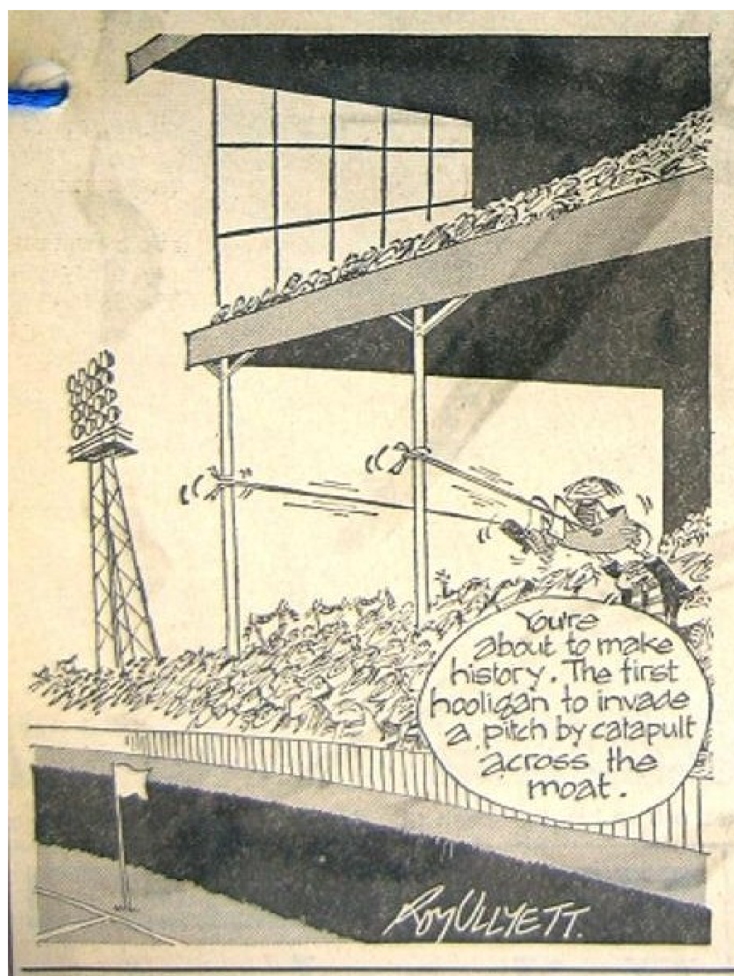

Figure 2. *Daily Express* satirized attempts to change physical environments. 24 May 1974.

members of the Working Party. Winterbottom blatantly ignored the possible ramifications of corralling fans, as well as the public perceptions of these measures. In reference to his strong support of segregative enclosures Winterbottom, "considered that the 'concentration camps' aspects of such a practice were largely misleading." Police Commander Nievens, liaison in charge of police relations at Upton Park agreed with him during a Working Party visit to West Ham United's grounds: "The possible use of the playing area as an escape factor was greatly exaggerated….The first action of the police should be to get people out of the ground, not onto the pitch."[58] He strongly opposed installing release gates into fencing at Upton Park, a site notorious for fan disorder.

Like the Lang committee, government and police officials knew that confining fans within tight quarters, especially spaces where violence was frequent, could lead to disastrous injury. Howell's directive that police always be allowed to enter the crowd, and his frequent support for fence escapes and fence gates revealed that not only did he understand the unfavorable public perceptions of his work, but that he also recognized the probability of impending catastrophe. Police officials also recognized the potential for calamity within the pens. One Manchester constable argued that fixing permanent barriers, while generally beneficial, "unfortunately leads to the conflict situation in the event of a barrier breaking or a fire, and reduces the natural escape access onto the playing area. Gates set into the fencing with stewards constantly in attendance could

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[58] "Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to West Ham United," 3 May 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

cater for such an eventuality."[59] This chief police officer concluded that crises within fan enclosures would lead to injuries precisely because police enclosed spectators within tightly confined spaces with fewer escape options during an emergency. He also predicted problems that could lead to the "eventuality" of disaster.

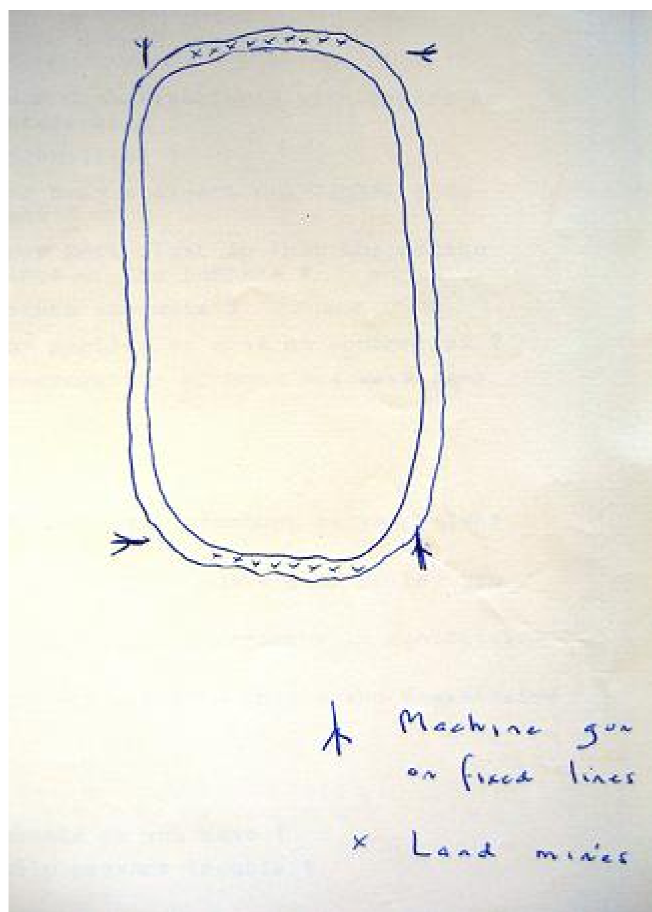

Figure 3. Image from Denis Howell's Administrative Files on Football Violence.

[59] Chief Constable W.J. Richards, Greater Manchester Police, in report on "Unruly Behaviour at Old Trafford Football Ground on Saturday, 27th April, 1974," submitted to Miss M.A. Clayton, Home Office, 6 May 1974. In PRO HO 300/112, file 26.

Further evidence reveals that Howell imagined even more drastic measures against football spectators. Though Howell and the Working Party intermittently expressed some sensitivities to the fatal dangers of penning and enclosures, confidential files suggest he exhibited little regard for the lives or safety of spectators. A hand-drawn image, found tucked within the DOE files on the Working Party, supported the conclusion that Howell, and perhaps other government officials, envisioned sports grounds as war zones. I have concluded that Howell drew the image as well as the legend, since the handwriting surrounding the image matched the script of notes in his personal files. The image depicted a barrier to a football ground guarded by machine guns on "fixed lines" which aim along the four linear boundaries of the pitch. Behind the goals, a strip of land mines ensured that no pitch invasions occurred from the more raucous terraced areas behind the goals (see Figure 3).[60] Howell envisioned direct and targeted hostility towards spectators, and working-class terrace fans specifically, carried out through warlike preparations which included constant surveillance and the use of extreme force. Such an imagined environment is predicated on a disciplined division of spatial boundaries within stadium confines, and reflected the policies already instituted by the Working Party. It expanded upon accepted forms of spatial division by adding the direct threat of violent, militaristic intervention should any transgressions occur.

While such an image cannot be seen to be directly representative of Howell's public statements about spatial division, nor a resolute illustration of the Working Party's

[60] This image can be found in PRO AT 25/246. It is not numbered but the pages are collated within Howell's other briefs, notes, correspondence and press clippings in the file.

attitude as a whole, it did betray the mentality of punishment and violence present which could underlie state efforts at spatial discipline. In fact, the image also revealed that Howell tenuously weighed his perceptions of possible public reactions against his own desires to enact draconian tactics. Though this diagram would not be acceptable to the public as either indicative of state policy or even as a laughable demonstration of bureaucratic imagination, its intentional secrecy did indicate that Howell knew the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable forms of state intervention into the problem of fan violence. Nonetheless, his total disregard for spectators' well-being, and even his disdain for working-class terrace spectators, can be inferred from the special attention he directed to the area behind the goals in his drawing. Howell felt comfortable responding to fan violence with the threat of violence from the state. Envisioning the grounds as a war zone, complete with military weaponry, likened the spectators to tolerable casualties in the battle against spectator behavior and the moral security of British society.

Throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, through state-sponsored commissions, working party investigations, and long legislative debates, government officials and clubs developed invasive and dangerous policies for spatial division which attempted to deter unwanted spectator behavior by re-creating and nearly militarizing the architectural boundaries of the spectating environment. Under the coercive language of "crowd safety", stadium development allowed police, clubs, and the state to implement ideal disciplinary schemes through architectural means. The strategies they advocated escalated in severity over time, gradually introducing more refined tactics for limiting

crowds' mobility and ensuring the discipline of the enclosed terrace crowds. Government officials' earliest recommendations evolved into a total policy of containment that integrated new segregative elements such as defined gangways, crush barriers, perimeter fences, and spectator enclosures. Such conditions facilitated police interventions and behavior enforcement within stadiums, but also implicitly nurtured the possibilities of confrontation and violence. In order to address the perpetuation of fan disorder, social research into the manipulation of physical environments increasingly focused on the body of the average spectator and the pressures it could sustain. Technical researchers and government representatives alike sought to determine which non-lethal injuries and hostile treatments could be perceived as acceptable to the general public. Furthermore, several government officials knew that the new policies could lead to severe bodily injuries and amplify the potential for disasters, but refrained from warning clubs and the public of their danger.

Resistance to Physical Space Divisions

The divisions of space within football stadiums, as in other public spaces, came to hold different meanings for the various groups of social actors that inhabited them on a weekly basis. These limited spaces, defined by both physical and imagined boundaries, became increasingly surveilled and controlled by the state as football violence increased throughout the 1970s. Disorderly fan activities often aimed at breaking down these physical boundaries and testing their resiliency, and the police and state responded by

hardening the boundaries and policing them rigorously. As these spaces were manipulated and changed over time, older meanings were destroyed and new meanings were subsequently created.

Some existing spatial boundaries became increasingly contested as football disorder increased in the late 1960s. Most prominently, the division between the field of play and spaces for spectating came into question because of the frequency of pitch invasions by exuberant supporters. The pitch invasion not only indicated a blatant transgression of the space reserved for players, but also represented a larger breakdown in the total authority and control of the football environment. On one level, invading the pitch disrupts the game and contravenes known regulations of the spectating area. On another level, the invasion also indicates a breakdown in the policing of that spectating area, and represents a larger mishandling in the control of the entire environment. No other transgression of physical boundaries more powerfully suggested that the ordering of the stadium was under stress, and that police efforts to control fans had failed.

After local clubs and police implemented the government's policies on spatial division, pitch invasions also signaled that these barriers too had proven ineffective. In 1967, one police liaison mentioned that moats only mildly deterred invasions. He commented that, "It is not unknown for spectators to wade through the ditches…and water may not be a sufficient deterrent."[61] Indeed, it is easy to imagine that barriers aimed at preventing invasions could generate a challenge for spectators. When a fan

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[61] City of Glasgow Police submission to Harrington Commission, 1 November 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

returned wet to the stands, it could be seen as esteemable among one's fellow spectators. Barriers could, in certain cases, encourage pitch invasions by providing another obstacle to overcome. Their transgression could also serve as an additional way to annoy the police.

End-taking, where a group of fans invaded the terrace area designated for the other teams' supporters, also constituted a practical form of resistance to physical boundaries. End-taking aimed at contravening fan segregation as a policy within stadiums. Though end-taking surely comprised an element in territorial interactions between rival groups of fans, it also made useless the police's segregative strategies. Segregation and penning no doubt encouraged territorial meanings for various groups of spectators, especially when these spaces were contested by rival groups. Police and government officials aimed to divest these spaces of the territorial bonds fans created with specific terrace areas by determining their boundaries and who could inhabit them during the match. However, end-taking regenerated the opportunity for territorialisms in the stadium by contesting the neutrality given to segregated spaces by police. Fans reclaimed the ends as ill-defined and negotiable through violence, challenging the physical barriers instituted by the state.

Terrace spectators also continued to challenge the economic and spatial boundaries between seated and standing attendees. Terrace fans often evaded police and attacked seated areas. In 1975, at a match in Nottinghamshire, traveling Manchester United fans "invaded the Members Stand, damaging the seats, breaking windows of the

stand and press and public announcement boxes, and also damaging wooden fencing at one end of the stand."[62] In this particular example two symbols of social control became the object of the supporters' destruction: the seats and the wooden fence barrier. Though spectators damaged nearly every area they could get to, here the police noted that the fans specifically targeted seats, an expression of resistance to economically instituted class divisions within the stadium. They also attacked the fences enclosing the seated stand, the barrier which maintained the spaces of fiscal privilege and cultural difference.

Fans at the match also broke down the physical barriers in their own terraces and endeavored to remove other architectural dividers like crush barriers. Shortly after the disorder began, "Manchester United supporters were seen to be breaking down parts of a timber and corrugated iron 'crush' barrier which ran the length of the enclosure…Long lengths of timber and broken pieces of corrugated iron were tossed in the air and again the Police entered the crowd to restore order." Once within the crowd, "Police were subjected to a barrage of stones, beer containers and pieces of the broken crush barrier."[63] In another incident at a Merseyside derby, police reported that away fans brought tools with them to remove crush barriers with less effort, showing that they premeditated such attacks on the terrace environment. As they hoisted the barriers in the air Liverpool supporters jeered "Goodison Park is falling down!"[64] The chant indicated territorial

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[62] Nottinghamshire Combined Constabulary report on Notts County vs. Manchester United, 29 April 1975, p.8. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[63] Ibid, 7.

[64] Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary Report on Everton vs. Liverpool, 24 February 1971. In PRO HO 287/2051.

rivalries carried out through attacks on the opponents' stadium as a sacred space. But spectators also directed their destructive efforts at crush barriers, because like other physical divisions, they represented the implements of spatial control and police efforts to curb crowd mobility that spectators rejected. Directing their aggression at the boundaries themselves, rather than at other fans or the police, indicated extreme dissatisfaction with the presence of physical means of social control.

Fans also complained verbally about the brutality and cruelty they experienced during the government's program of physical enclosures and segregation. Many non-violent spectators objected to the treatment of the patrons as an undifferentiated population of thugs. In 1967, Howard Kaye wrote to the Arsenal F.C. club chairman to object to the idea that, "Arsenal management have decided to cage-up their supporters on the terraces." Though he admitted that young spectators often interrupted the match with pitch invasions, he added that, "this has occurred from time immemorial and surely does not warrant such drastic action." In this case, new policies infringed upon older activities that expressed close bonds between club loyalties, terrace spectators, and sacred spaces. Kaye also protested against the new draconian measures:

> Mr. Chairman, the supporters that you see gathered before you on the terraces are not dogs, nor are they the cloth-cap workers of the 20s or 30s, whose lives revolved around the factory floor and the Saturday afternoon football match; they are intelligent human beings who are just as likely to patronise the opera after the football match as they are the greyhounds.

Unlike several of the moral commentators and government officials who espoused rhetoric against "hooligan thugs" without remorse, this fan distinguished between the

more violent elements of the crowd and the majority of fans seeking a non-confrontational weekend entertainment. The strict program of physical intimidation endangered their enjoyment by assuming all fans needed to be disciplined. The quote also indicated that fans sometimes paid less attention to class distinctions than government officials. Kaye also recognized that penning and enclosures could paradoxically encourage violent activities rather than eliminate them. "I firmly believe that until a different attitude is taken to the man on the terrace, violence will increase. The man on the terrace should be welcomed at a football match and not merely tolerated."[65]

Some fans expressed similar resentment that police and government officials perceived fans' disposition as universally violent and unruly. After a series of run-ins with local police at a match in Sheffield, one woman witness issued a lengthy statement complaining of police treatment and physical arrangements upon their arrival at the match. She noted that, "the general attitude to football supporters is 'guilty until proven innocent'." She added, "We the supporters would like to have a say in the preventative measures against hooliganism…We feel that only by engendering a mutual rapport between fans and police will hooliganism be removed from football and at the moment we go in fear of our lives."[66] Physical discipline carried out against all non-seated fans lumped them into a single, undifferentiated mass deserving of cruel treatment. In a letter of complaint to the constable, she added that, "we are sick and tired of being treated as

[65] *The End,* 130-131.

[66] South Yorkshire Police, Witness Statement of Heidi Gleissner, 22 October 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

second-class citizens just because we go to football matches. We are respectable girls and we should be treated as Human Beings."[67] Authorities presumed all spectators to be culpable and subjected non-violent spectators to potential abuse. In response, several spectators voiced their objections to the physical environments and policing accompanying the government's crackdown on fan disorder in the 1970s.

Other spectators also made sure that the Minister's office understood that "genuine" supporters also rejected the embarrassing conditions of terrace control enacted upon them. Howell's office received several letters from supporters' clubs, formed not only to protect the traditions and heritage of football supporting in local areas, but also to separate fans interested in the sport and its traditions from violent spectators. The Manchester United Supporters' Club frequently wrote Howell, especially after incidents involving supporters with allegiance to the club. Supporters' clubs wanted to ensure that Howell was aware of the benefit of non-violent fans amongst the terraces, especially when such fans could not gain access to seated stands at away matches. Like the women above, they did not want to be subject to the same harsh physical restraints as their disorderly counterparts. The club's chairman, C.D. Smith, wrote to the Department of the Environment:

> I fully appreciate the concern that a few hundred unruly fans can cause, in terms of damage and safety both to players and the reputation of the game and under no circumstances do I even attempt to condone their actions. I do, however, honestly believe that any action that may be taken should, in all fairness, take into account

[67] Letter from Heidi Gleissner, Sue Isherwood, Carole Parkhouse, Linda Crosby and Violet Wright to The Chief Constable, West Yorkshire Police. The letter was copied to all the national newspapers, Ted Croker at the Football Association, Denis Howell and Leeds United's manager Jimmy Armfield. Dated 3 September 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

> the non-involvement of in excess of 55,000 spectators, who made absolutely no attempt to encroach on the pitch.

After the match, both local and national television stations suggested that Old Trafford, Manchester United's home ground, would be closed while changes to the terraces could be installed to prevent further incidents. Smith pleaded, "the whole point of this letter is to request, on behalf of the genuine and well-behaved supporters, that the punishment to be meted out be confined to those supporters."[68] These pleas indicate that fans, along with police and clubs, recognized the distinction between violent and non-violent fans in the same way as physical barriers helped to define these fan groups. Assemblies of non-violent fans feared that new changes to stadiums' physical environment would impose on their entertainment, and might even result in temporary expulsion from the stadium altogether. Several groups of fans chastised their violent counterparts in order to convince the government that physical discipline did not suit the entire spectating populous.

In addition to spectators, clubs also expressed distaste for the new government's architectural proposals. Most prominently, clubs worried about the large construction costs of implementing the recommendations. This concern was evident in several sections of the Winterbottom and Wheatley reports. Winterbottom's investigation revealed that clubs had differing opinions on whether terraces should be divided. Celtic F.C. wanted to protect their own liability, countering the prevailing policy of restricting

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[68] Letter from C.D. Smith, Chairman of Manchester United Supporters' Club to Denis Howell, Department of the Environment, 2 May 1974. In PRO AT 25/246.

crowd mobility. The club, "felt that crowds should be allowed as much freedom of movement as possible in order to be able to escape from nuisance or danger."[69] Several clubs expressed alarm not only at the financial sums needed to manipulate existing terraces and stands, but also at the possible dangers physical barriers could create.

The installation of segregated stands also created several new problems for clubs. The government consistently recommended that tickets be issued to all spectators in effort to increase the efficiency of police in segregating fans. Ushers and police could distribute fans according to their team allegiance. All-ticket policies also aimed to reduce overcrowding in certain areas of the stadium and mitigate the accumulation of fans at paying turnstiles just before the match began. Before all-ticket matches became accepted as the norm, most fans, especially terrace spectators, paid for general admission upon arriving at the ground. Clubs objected to the segregation tactic partly because it meant that tickets needed to be printed and distributed, sometimes weeks in advance, again increasing the costs to finance-minded clubs. Nottingham County F.C. complained that the club spent an extra £350 on ticket printing and distribution in anticipation of an upcoming match when admission to the stadium cost only 60p.[70] Such procedures proved a financial and administrative annoyance that challenged working standards within club management. The club also spent thousands of pounds to install new barriers and employ more police and stewards when the largest clubs visited. While fans'

[69] The Winterbottom Report, 10. In PRO HLG 120/1618.

[70] Attachment on Financial Considerations, Press Release by Notts. County Football Club, 11 March 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

behavior in smaller locales rarely necessitated stricter measures, Howell and football authorities mandated changes to small stadiums as well in anticipation of conflicts.[71] These changes often forced new financial and administrative problems upon clubs.

Police also faced new challenges in ensuring that segregated fans entered the proper enclosure in the first place. At Middlesbrough police ran into unanticipated obstacles with separating home and away supporters: "The police sometimes had difficulty in carrying this [out] when both teams wore the same colours, but were usually able to go by accent."[72] External markers provided police with imprecise means of segregating crowds as carrying out new policies created practical problems. Segregation also caused accretions of spectators at turnstiles waiting to gain entry into their designated enclosures, providing police with yet another difficulty. Before the installation of enclosures, fans often proceeded to the turnstile entry which contained the shortest queue. Now, fans faced longer lines and extended waits to gain entry. At Upton Park police found that home fans frequently entered the visitors' enclosure not to instigate violence but to avoid protracted delays. The situation caused further problems when visiting fans arrived late to find little or no room in the enclosures to accommodate them.[73] Police became particularly concerned about visiting fans who could not gain

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[71] Though Howell couldn't enforce statutory changes to football grounds in the Sports Grounds Bill, he did exert political pressure against several clubs, and used football's governing bodies to encourage clubs to make the changes as well. See the multiple discussions surrounding preparations for Notts County vs. Manchester United, 19 April 1975 in PRO HO 287/2053.

[72] Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Middlesbrough, 24 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

[73] Metropolitan Police report of West Ham United vs. Manchester United, 30 October 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

entrance: they were perceived as a massive security threat to surrounding pubs, shops, and city plazas. Yet, police and stewards could not admit them to home spectators' enclosures because they feared away fans would provoke home crowd. In many cases, segregation could aggravate existing administrative problems leading to more conflict within and outside the stadium.

Due to difficulties with administration and police, as well as their intermittent sensitivity to supporters' complaints, clubs resisted executing government spatial division policies. One of the Winterbottom commission's main directives involved investigating whether or not clubs had implemented the Lang Report's recommendations. The group found that most clubs found segregation to be excessive, especially when enclosures aimed at corralling young men away from other spectators. "Segregating young people into pens is no longer thought to be essential. Indeed, some grounds have done away with separate penning because boys prefer to be with parents or older youths and they seem to cause less nuisance when they are not herded together."[74] Appendix A to the report listed that as of 1971 fifteen of thirty clubs in the first and second division implemented only partial or no segregation among the terraces. In Scotland, only two of fourteen clubs had complete segregation. Many clubs resisted putting into operation segregative policies until Howell returned to office and increased the pressure on clubs and police.

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[74] The Winterbottom Report, 22. In PRO HLG 120/1618.

Overall, the state faced significant struggles in implementing its spatial policies as clubs, police and fans protested government recommendations. Spectators objected to being cordoned off within tightly packed and heavily surveilled enclosures. They often objected to being treated as an undifferentiated mass of violent and animalistic subjects. In several instances, violent fans expressed their displeasure by directing destructive efforts at the representations and symbols of physical division. Clubs and police also recognized that segregation and enclosures created dangerous and potentially violent situations unanticipated by government ministers. The financial and administrative burden of architectural policy weighed heavy on fiscally strained clubs as well. Since the movement toward the policy of total containment was enacted piecemeal, police, fans and clubs consistently articulated their discontent with the ongoing implementation of these principles through various forms of resistance.

Manufacturing Attention Within Stadium Environments

Not content simply to control spectators' mobility, designers of stadium architecture sought to direct fans' attention and perception as well. The concept of attention has become a useful analytical tool in studying the construction of perception in the modern world. Jonathan Crary's work on the topic astutely articulated the connections between enforced attention, systems of social control, and the body. Crary used Foucault's understanding of the rise of institutional methods for harnessing human productivity, and focused on Europeans' pursuit of disciplined perception and human

attention since the late nineteenth century. Crary's fundamental argument is that historically developed ideas of attention and fixed perception, like other forms of social control, were socially constructed amongst several agents within a diverse field of power relationships. Concomitant with drastic changes in visual culture and the modern experiences of social dislocation, Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has also witnessed the development of, "an imperative of concentrated attentiveness within the disciplinary organization of labor, education, and mass consumption and an ideal of sustained attentiveness."[75]

Crary's genealogy of attention coincides with drastic shifts in social and economic relations as well, suggesting that promotions of attention discipline often occurred as a response to fears of cultural chaos, social disintegration, and crises of labor and capital organization within European society. Especially during the twentieth century, "perceptual modalities have been and continue to be in a state of perpetual transformation, or some might claim, a state of crisis." The evolution of disciplined attention unfolded largely in response to industrialists' concerns about inattention within labor and educational settings in the workplace, and became subject to their concern within adaptation to economic imperatives, technological advances, and various forms of social organization.[76] From the 1870s, demands for industry and efficiency fashioned new research avenues to ensure that, "the perceiving body was deployed and made

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[75] Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). Quote from p. 1-2.

[76] *Ibid*, 13.

productive and orderly, whether as student, worker, or consumer."[77] Attention, or the body's ability to ignore distraction and subjectively isolate some relevant stimuli from other contents within the sensory field, was evaluated within a wide range of human sciences and philosophical discourses. The ability to fasten the gaze and concentrate mental focus on certain impressions enhanced order, heightened individual efficiency, and increased consumption. Overall, the cultural logic of capitalism generated intensive interest in enforcing disciplined attention to meet specific models of behavior in several spheres of modern society.[78]

Though Crary's book focused on attention within philosophical discourse, the budding science of psychology, and contested notions of perception within aesthetics and visual studies, his theoretical understandings of attention help to illuminate the purpose of state-instituted physical discipline through spatial policies in football. Government officials in charge of sport made several changes to the consumption of football during the crisis period of fan disorder in efforts to construct more disciplined and attentive styles of watching. John Clarke has shrewdly argued that a generational split occurred during this era between older postwar styles of watching and those of younger, more aggressive spectators in the 1970s. Responding to commercial and professional advances in the industry, younger spectators established a watching style which incorporated their own violent spectacles into their actual involvement within the game. The cultural meanings of football consumption changed as younger fans appropriated the match as

[77] *Ibid*, 22-23.

[78] *Ibid*, 29-30.

only one aspect of the day's activities.[79] But in addition to understanding how fan behaviors changed, evidence also reveals the practical changes sports regulators and clubs instituted to the watching environment. These efforts attempted to enforce stricter discipline over spectator attention by transforming the product and its consumption within stadium environments.

Both the Harrington and Lang commissions recognized the need for controlling spectator's attention through eliminating boredom. The break between halves particularly concerned Harrington's research group: "Rowdyism is likely to break out at half time when expectant fans get bored waiting for the game to restart. Likewise the waiting period before the game when rival fans have arrived early to secure vantage points is a time when brawling on the terraces may occur." Without offering further recommendations, they concluded that, "methods of entertaining spectators during these periods requires further evaluation."[80] Lang's group found that Glasgow Rangers F.C. had experienced some success with a more grandiose introduction of both teams before the match. In addition, "some form of entertainment, both before the game and during the interval, as was the usual F.A. practice for higher level games, should be recommended, so that supporters had something to occupy their minds while waiting for play to commence."[81] Both recommendations assumed that fans needed entertainment to

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[79] John Clarke, "Football and Working Class Fans: Tradition and Change," in Roger Ingham, ed. *Football Hooliganism: The Wider Context* (London: Inter-Action Inprint, 1978).

[80] The Harrington Report, 22.

[81] Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches, Report of a Meeting held at Ibrox Park, Glasgow, 16 June 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

avoid digressing into violent conduct, reinforcing their perception of spectators as barbaric thugs. Government officials suspected that diverting attention away from terrace goings-on to the field of play, at all times during the course of the afternoon if possible, could result in fewer disruptions. Focusing their attention forward to the field avoided the distracting stimuli of other spectators, deemed interruptions to the discipline of perception.

The Winterbottom Report also recognized the advantages of directing attention to the field of play before and after games, especially when such tactics helped police with timing ingress and egress. On-field entertainment could promote a lengthier period of leaving and entering the field directly before and after matches. The commission found that several clubs had adopted some form of diversions:

> Pre-match entertainment is a fairly common feature. Programmes of music, club information and light entertainment are broadcast and on special occasions bands and display teams are engaged. Entertainment before a game induces spectators to arrive early and to avoid last-minute crushes. In the same way, broadcasts of light music, interspersed with information on results of other games, tends to stop a departure rush and more spectators delay their going if they are offered comfortable facilities for refreshment at the end of the game.[82]

A variety of activities continued to direct attention toward the field of play for as long as possible. Everton F.C. found that bringing a disc jockey to away games, including when abroad in Europe, helped promote harmony amongst the stands if the music could be heard throughout the stadium. They recommended the practice to Howell, and asked him

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[82] Winterbottom Report, 15.

to pass it on to other clubs.[83] During a reading of the Safety at Sports Ground Bill, Clement Freud (Liberal) wanted to hold the junior or reserve matches before and after games to aid event organizers in breaking up the rushes on either end of the match.[84] Government officials, desperate for ideas to better their battle against fan violence, adopted a variety of methods to focus attention on the field of play for lengthier periods of time. Such efforts encouraged fans to forget about their surroundings, the disruptive violence they could engage in, and the community activities around them.

The underlying rationale behind these built-in diversions can be clearly discerned from police comments on the subject. Police attitudes reveal that attention-building activities on the field of play were perceived to better facilitate desirable crowd behavior. In a meeting with Wheatley's interview group, police officials agreed that, "If teams came on and left the pitch together the likelihood of action by unruly sections of the crowd would be reduced." They added that, "entertainment during the interval prevented the build-up of hate."[85] Again, police and government officials assumed an undifferentiated violent demeanor amongst all fans. Football administrators perceived spectators as cruel and brutish, prone to aggression and constantly in need of entertaining stimuli. These assumptions helped to legitimate the violent environments created around the spectators, even as pens and segregation implicitly induced them to remain immobile

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[83] Letter from M.J. Skinner, Promotions Manager at Everton Football Club, to Denis Howell, 13 August 1975. In PRO AT 60/39.

[84] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 867 (18 January 1974), col. 1112.

[85] Suggestion from Assistant Chief Constable Ratcliffe, Glasgow. Agreed to by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO). See "Note of a Meeting with Representatives of the Association of Chief Police Officers of Scotland, 7 September 1971. In PRO HO 287/1633, file 11.

and focus on the entertainment offered. Attention discipline served as both justification for and treatment for the problems of disorderly crowd behavior.

The development of attention discipline in the football industry occurred in a variety of interconnected ways that indicated the government's perception of working-class spectators as excitable, prone to violence, and unfocused. Government and club officials contemplated a variety of changes to the structure of the day's entertainment as they sought to reorganize the fundamental ways in which spectators consumed football. For the most part, these developments proved largely unsuccessful at curbing violence, though police felt that they helped. Their implementation revealed that the government took seriously its perception that working-class spectators needed disciplined attention when consuming the sport to avoid predilections for violent behavior. Officials concentrated their activities against idleness by providing more continuous entertainment on the pitch. Fundamentally, these efforts aimed to reduce the amount of communal and aggressive interaction on the terraces by focusing attention on the field of play.

Physical Space, Attention and Railway Control

Football spectator violence, when it occurred outside the organized spaces within stadiums, disconcerted police and public alike. Damage to areas outside of sports grounds threatened private property, and threatened to involve a larger number of parties outside of the club and the police. Football fans traveling to and from away matches caused a variety of problems for police and club officials: vandalism to trains, fights with

local fans outside train stations, and the potential for harm to local businesses. Spectators needed to be simultaneously ushered to the field and protected from impending attacks by rival groups of supporters. Government officials, in concert with local clubs and police, assembled new policies that addressed the physical spaces of train cars and train stations in remarkably similar fashion to their creation of spatial discipline within stadiums. British Rail, too, informed policymaking by adopting a flexible approach that attempted to balance revenues with spectators' exclusion through price management. Stewards also played a key role in the total policing of the railway industry. All of these parties faced problems of properly identifying and convicting culpable spectators. In response, each contributed to the development of railway policies that enacted discipline on supporters through manipulating physical space, self-policing, and attention.

Increased vandalism on British railcars by football spectators had been occurring since mid-1960s, consistent with the general spike in crowd violence.[86] Trains and railway stations became increasingly worrisome places for police and the public on Saturday afternoons. The Harrington Report, written with advise from police recommendations, described the smash ups:

> The most common types of damage to railways are damage to luggage racks and the nets, seats slashed and otherwise misused, window blinds and straps torn from fixed points, windows broken, advertisement panels and mirrors broken or defaced, electrical fittings and light bulbs removed and sometimes thrown out or smashed. Woodwork and paneling and tables are sometimes damaged, lampshades are either torn out or destroyed. Fire extinguishers are sometimes

[86] Rogan Taylor has noted that supporters' organizations frequently worried about railcar damage incidents as early as the 1950s. See Rogan Taylor, *Football and Its Fans: Supporters and Their Relations with the Game, 1885-1985* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 159.

> discharged in corridors or from windows, and are disposed of either by being thrown out of the train or by being stolen. Toilets suffer considerable damage with mirrors, pans, and washbasins broken and sometimes completely smashed.[87]

The report also noted the problems British Rail experienced in attempting to identify and apprehend offenders, as the damage usually occurred when trains were not monitored. British Rail also had trouble convincing fellow travelers to bear witness against spectators, and could not introduce stricter control measures, "without adversely affecting the well-behaved travelers and thereby losing their goodwill."[88]

Train stations also posed a new public space in need of police consideration. In addition to becoming targets of vandals, train stations often hosted instances of conflict between rival groups of fans as clever supporters ambushed adversaries at train stations upon their arrival or departure. Police gradually increased their detail as they escorted rival groups of fans to the stadium in order to mitigate conflicts between supporters.[89] When Manchester United fans arrived in Liverpool in 1970, they faced thrown stones, empty beer bottles, and verbal abuse from rival supporters, despite the presence of over fifty police officers and eight mounted police. The abuse continued, with intermittent fights, along the two and one half mile route to the stadium.[90] When a match in Stoke yielded broken windows and missile damage along the route from the train station, Stoke

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[87] The Harrington Report, 45.

[88] Ibid, 46.

[89] For example of ambitious police details, see "Operational Order, 25 March 1975: Notts County vs. Manchester United, 19 April 1975." In PRO HO 287/2053.

[90] Report of incidents, Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary, 9 September 1970. In PRO HO 287/2051, file 4.

City police found it, "necessary, therefore, to prevent any form of wild chase along the route by supporters and this was done by forming them into columns and escorting them by Mounted Branch, Dog Handlers, and patrol men."[91] Escorts subjected fans to strict discipline along these routes as they attempted to both protect them and prevent them from causing damage to private property. At Luton, club officials and local police intermittently discussed having several matches moved to another nearby stadium rather than risk the long walk between the train station and their grounds.[92]

Football authorities and police chiefs responded by increasing the discipline and policing of railway facilities. In the early 1970s, government ministers focused their concern on football disorder outside the stadium by promoting a stronger level of control and influence over British Rail's series of football "specials". As trains designed specifically for the transportation of football fans to away matches, specials became a primary anxiety for the state and the public alike. They posed a very specific type of problem: how to transport raucous fans to various locations across Britain with minimal damage to state and public property and to British Rail's public image.

British Rail and the Department of the Environment considered getting most of the troublemaking traveling supporters on the same train the primary matter of security

[91] Report Re: Crowd Control, etc., Stoke City vs. Manchester United Football Club, 30 August 1975, 2. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[92] Meeting of Denis Howell with Luton F.C., 5 September 1975. In PRO AT 60/39.

and safety.[93] A false dichotomy between "genuine" supporters and "hooligans" is found throughout several discourses about football disorder composed by the state, the rail authorities, and football officials. The segregation of these two groups formed the backbone of crowd control policy on railways. The main motivation for segregative measures was financial. According to an internal British Railways assessment, football trains produced over £800,000 per year in revenue, with £435,000 coming from football specials and private charter. Out of a total market of 1.2 to 1.5 million pounds, rail officials estimated losses of £200,000 to £500,000 over the course of the 1975-76 season.[94] Control of the football market also had implications for a third group, "normal" Saturday passengers. British Rail recognized foul language, boisterous behavior, and damage to the interiors of train coaches as deterrents to other passengers. Segregating passengers would prove financially beneficial for British Rail but would also be the key dimension promoted by Denis Howell and the Department of the Environment for preventing disorder on the railways and policing supporters outside stadium grounds.[95]

As political parties, club managers, and state officials devised plans for crowd control and safety within and around stadiums, British Rail composed schemes of its own

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[93] Note policy priorities in British Railways Board internal memo, 2 June 1975, p. 2. In Files of the Office of the Chief Executive of Railways, PRO AN 156/469, *British Railways File on Trains and Specials, 1972-1985*.

[94] Memorandum to British Railways Management Group from Executive Director of Passenger Affairs, 23 February, 1976, pp. 1,4. PRO AN 156/469.

[95] British Rail and Howell agreed on the primary objective in a joint statement of rail policy: "First priority is to protect general passenger traffic; i.e. to keep the hooligans off Inter City trains." Notes of Meeting between Denis Howell, Department of the Environment, and British Rail officials, 4 September, 1974. In PRO AN 156/469. This meeting was presumably part of the Working Party's consultation with British transport authorities.

for the travel environment. Railway planners achieved railway segregation between acceptable and deviant passengers by undercutting prices of other British Rail and charter trains, using pricecutting as an incentive to lure working-class football supporters onto "special" trains. British Rail and several representatives of football clubs agreed that this was an effective tactic.[96] As one British Railway policy guideline noted, "The fare must be sufficiently attractive to steer at least the younger football supporters from normal service trains carrying regular fare paying passengers."[97] The British Railways Board even admitted that, "B.R. is accused of undercutting, but fares have to be pitched to keep football traffic off ordinary trains."[98] Class characterizations riddle the discussions of segregation and go beyond separating football supporters from other passengers simply because of their common bond of supportership. Football supporters, seen as deviant working-class men, prone to violence and strident behavior, pollute the gentrified railway environment. Acceptable patterns of behavior determined by bourgeois values of gentlemanly and proper conduct again were challenged by football supporters and their collective activities. Several instances of improper conduct allowed British Rail to segregate seating and railway passage based on class distinctions. British Rail, with full support from the Department of the Environment, undercut prices of certain charters to secure the football market. More importantly, they could ensure that deviant working-class passengers inhabited their own trains, with separate rules and increased

[96] British Railways Board memo, 2 June 1975, p. 2. In PRO AN 156/469.

[97] British Rail, Football Traffic Policy Guidelines, 14 August 1974, p. 1. In PRO AN 156/469.

[98] British Railways Board memo, 2 June 1975, p. 2. In PRO AN 156/469.

surveillance. This policy allowed British Rail to secure the market for other "genuine" supporters and middle-class passengers as well, because the non-special trains were free from unwanted spectators. In all, British Railways attempted to monopolize football railway passage by segregation along class lines, using football supporters and their deviancy as a catalyst to divide the market.

Keeping supporters sequestered on trains of their own would not only eliminate the problem of imposition on other passengers. Effectively, the segregation policy allowed British Rail and British Transport police to corral all suspected supporters and their criminalized activities into confined spaces. Officials therefore capitalized on their opportunities for controlling collective behavior and maximized their surveillance of working-class deviants by limiting the spaces that needed to be monitored and managed. The scrutiny of football supporters' activities could now be extended to their ventures both directly before and directly after matches, extending control of the total environment. In all the meetings between the Department of the Environment and British Rail, as well as all British Rail internal meetings, the twin topics of policing and stewarding football fans on trains were second only to segregating passengers. Since the increase of incidents in the late 1960s, British Rail and other train companies frequently requested British Transport police presence on football specials and other Saturday trains.

Police presence was requested on more and more routes, while football clubs, the Football League, and British Rail frequently argued about covering the increasing costs of policing coaches. By 1974, British Rail policy required that, "Plain clothes and

uniformed British Transport Police will be provided on trains…to the maximum number available."[99] Rail officials assumed that undercover officers provided a necessary dimension to the continual observation of supporter behavior. While uniformed police were often teased and jeered, and even rarely attacked, plain clothes officers allowed surveillance of groups of supporters to go unnoticed. Furthermore, British Transport police could move freely between coaches and amongst supporters without being identified. Their scrutiny of the confined space of the coaches could be mobile and uninhibited, while uniformed officers provided constant surveillance of the same spaces over the duration of the journey. Police represented the figures of authority on the train during travel, and in order to prevent negotiation of their authority through public humiliation and outright attacks, plain clothes officers were added to undermine direct resistance to uniformed officers. Covert policing bolstered uniformed policing by adding a concealed dimension to the power contestation embodied in these social relationships, backed by the threat of constant surveillance and the prosecution it promised.

Suprisingly, some British Rail officials noted that police presence, uniformed or otherwise, could add to the general anxieties of the collective group and perhaps furthered violent and disruptive behavior among football supporters on trains. One rail official felt compelled to interject that, "It has been alleged that police patrolling causes more trouble than it prevents," and asked that subsequent British Railways Board policy meetings should consider the apparent problem.[100] Police presence was often requested

[99] British Rail, Football Traffic Policy Guidelines, 14 August 1974, p. 1. In PRO AN 156/469.

[100] British Railways Board memo, 2 June 1975, p. 2. In PRO AN 156/469.

not only on coaches, but also at any scheduled stops along the way. Supporters often hopped out of crowded railcars and extended their forays into train stations. Apparently, some conflicts seemed to be provoked by the challenge of visible police. The concluding rail policy recommendations of a seminar on football supporters and rail passage, hosted by British Rail, concluded that, "Police presence in large numbers at terminals may well incite hooliganism," as well.[101] The same set of conclusions encouraged further thinking on the matter amongst high-level rail officials: "If it is considered that police presence is a provocation for hooliganism, then perhaps an experiment with a diffuse police presence might be worthwhile."[102] For reasons unknown, British Rail never carried out the experiment.

The general ambivalence and consternation about police presence gave way to an unmitigated endorsement of club-appointed stewards on trains. While stewards had a long history of ushering football matches, the use of stewards on trains had been relatively infrequent and unsuccessful before the 1970s. One particular incident ensured that stewards on trains would operate as buffers between fans and train operators. In late 1969, a train operator forced all Tottenham fans off the train at Flitwick, nearly fifty miles from their intended destination in London, due to destructive behavior. The fans were left to walk the rest of the way or find alternate travel. The Home Office announced

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[101] Report of Seminar on Football Supporter Travel by Rail, 25 June 1975, p. 9. In PRO AN 156/469.

[102] Ibid, 11.

that thereafter stewards would be mandatory on all trains carrying fans to away games.[103] By 1974, British Rail recommended two to each train car, though this would prove difficult to carry out.[104]

Like stewards at matches, stewards on trains provided a less threatening alternative to uniformed police. Essentially, they became an implementation of self-policing: clubs paid stewards, usually fans of the team, a small wage to keep order and monitor train coaches. Generally, supplying stewards allowed clubs and British Rail to receive a discount on their policing of trains, by requiring fewer police to accompany spectators. Stewards monitored each railcar and could call upon police only when confrontations escalated with supporters. They cost less to employ than British Transport police and minimized direct contact with state authorities. Clubs offered potential stewards great incentives. Ensured free travel and usually a free ticket to matches, stewards could travel to away matches to watch their team, still be among other groups of supporters, and only needed to follow simple crowd monitoring procedures.[105]

Government officials also felt stewards could be useful in addressing the ongoing problem of identifying and charging specific culprits. Railcars, like open terraces, could be chaotic and dynamic environments. Just as police had trouble identifying spectators

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[103] Home Office Press Notice, 20 November 1969. In Ian Taylor, "Class, Violence and Sport: The Case of Soccer Hooliganism in Britain," in *Sport, Culture and the Modern State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 89.

[104] Football League/British Rail Regulation Scheme to Regulate Young "Supporters" To Away Matches, 14 March 1975, p. 1. In PRO AN 156/469.

[105] See British Railways Board memo, 2 June 1975, p. 1. In PRO AN 156/469.

for specific transgressions in the terraces, where fans could evade arrest, so too did railway officials face extreme difficulty in pinning damage on any individual in the anonymity of a railcar. The state's highest police authority Eric St. Johnston commented that, "the problem was to identify trouble-makers and to take action to prevent the known hooligans getting on trains carrying supporters."[106] Stewards' chief purpose was merely to identify those involved in any vandalism or violence, while allowing the police to apprehend individuals. St. Johnston's deputy recommended that adult spectators from each club be placed alongside stewards to help, "keep the younger ones in hand but also, when trouble arose, to give evidence to the police of the identity of those responsible."[107] Identification of criminal activity became such a problem that Home Office representatives considered a way to charge all the occupants of a given car in certain situations. In 1969, D.J. Trevelyan, a high level Home Office representative, contacted the Director of Public Prosecutions to ascertain the feasibility of charging all occupants of a railcar subject to severe damage.[108] The department advised that such arrests would be considered unlawful when travelers were eventually prosecuted, and recommended

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[106] Sir Eric St. Johnston, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary, in "Note of a Meeting Held to Discuss Hooliganism by Football Supporters," Home Office, 2 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500, file 12.

[107] F.E. Williamson, Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary, in Ibid.

[108] D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office to J.F.Claxton, Dept. of the Director of Public Prosecutions, 26 September 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

that the Home Office drop the matter.[109] Stewards, however, could serve as another witness should any individual eventually be charged.

Club administrators also felt that stewards offered a less provocative alternative to uniformed police on trains. At a meeting of club executives and British Rail officials to discuss football supporters' travel, club officials from several different areas of Britain agreed that stewards should be elected from within the club. The strength of police presence should be decided only after the availability and effectiveness of stewards was established. Officials from the Department of the Environment agreed with this view.[110] Football clubs were especially keen that stewards should be appointed from their own organizations, and not from outside. The subtext of these discussions was that clubs wanted not only to pay less, but found that if fans recognized stewards as supporting the same team then opportunities for confrontation and disorder in railcars would be less likely. One proposal even considered requiring parents from each minor supporter to accompany their children on travel in lieu of police.[111] Clearly, clubs found that direct police presence, though often useful for highly aggressive situations beyond stewards' control, also could exacerbate potential disturbances on trains.

The public spaces which fans could inhabit were extremely limited by railway officials and the state's joint delineation of controlled environments. The state, British

[109] Letter from F2 Division of Home Office and Department of Public Prosecutions to D.J. Trevelyan, 2 October, 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[110] Report of Seminar on Football Supporter Travel by Rail, 25 June 1975, p. 10. In PRO AN 156/469.

[111] British Railways Board memo, 2 June 1975, p. 3. In PRO AN 156/469.

Rail, and football clubs consistently maintained their control over rail environments by ensuring that fans stayed within the confines of the train and under constant surveillance by several different authorities. Railway officers also devised a temporal plan to delimit the mobility of traveling football supporters and minimize opportunities for fans to act out. The timing of trains became a central concern for officials seeking to limit the leisure time away fans had in towns directly before and after matches. From 1969, British Rail scheduled trains to arrive as close to the start of matches as possible, so as to avoid idle time for fans.[112] They also offered discount travel for trains on these schedules in order to ensure that as many supporters as possible were limited by time. One policy initiative stated, "Arriving trains must not be too early to allow supporters spare time, but the 'lock out' situation must be avoided."[113] 'Lock outs' occurred when fans arrived at matches after kick-off and were denied entry. Both club and rail officers worried not only about idle time, but also wanted to guarantee that passengers could be easily transported to the subsequent controlled environment: the stadium. Police assumed that idle time left open the opportunity for unwelcome behavior. "With the type of football supporters who use these special trains, there is always the danger of vandalism, hooliganism and general lawlessness when they have time on their hands," noted one police superintendent. [114]Administrators also recognized that timing of trains effected their segregation policies. They fretted about supporters boarding trains not designated

[112] See the Secretary of State mandated railway policy in Home Office Circular no. 245/1969, "Hooliganism by Football Supporters," 20 November 1969, file 8A. In PRO MEPO 2/11286.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Police Superindent at Halifax Town in Minute Sheet, 17 November 1970. In PRO HO 287/2051.

for football travel, usually out of convenience and to return home earlier, thus evading rail control and invading a designated non-football space.[115] Timing became crucial to avoid breaching both railway policies and the organized areas police created.

While on the trains, rail and football officials combined to establish environments conducive to focused attention and individual placidity similar to those cultivated within football stadiums. In 1973, with a new season approaching, British Rail and the Football League announced a partnership entitled the "Brighter Football Campaign." The Football League agreed to pay £45,000 for fifty journeys on a train designed specifically to "entertain" groups of above four hundred supporters over longer journeys. Called the League Liner, the twelve coach train included an ongoing discotheque, a forty-two seat cinema car, and two music coaches that offered a variety of musical styles.[116] The train provided the Football League with evidence that they were taking measures to stem the problem of football disorder outside of the stadiums. The public relations office at British Rail noted that, "The initial approach was made by the Football League as an effort on their behalf to counter the falling attendances, and to improve the image of football supporters." British Rail, concerned not only with their own ability to provide service, but also the increased revenue that a first-class special could offer, added, "We

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[115] Ibid, 9.

[116] Press Release, British Railways Board, 23 January 1973, page 1. In PRO AN 156/469.

on our part have entered into this as a commercial proposition, but with a view to exploiting the obvious P.R. advantages."[117]

With the implementation of entertainment devices, the trains could now extend the total leisure of supporters' day out. However, the addition of music and movies were meant to divert supporters from participating in rowdy or damaging activities while traveling and standardize supporters' attention. British Rail ensured that, to watch the movies or listen to music, supporters were seated by providing individualized headsets in each seat. Providing entertainment became a way of encouraging individualized seating, and decreasing the amount of communal contact and movement among supporters during the journey. As with many state assumptions about attention within stadiums, rail officials also implied that breaking up groups of supporters, even within very confined spaces, could possibly prevent fans from acting in concert to damage private property or provoke stewards, police, and conductors. Encouraging supporters to sit in individualized seating, and focus their collective attention on a diversion would, authorities hoped, decrease the amount of group violence on football specials.

Rail officials and the Football League also hoped that luxury incentives would promote a "gentlemanly" crowd that would not only decrease disorder but would promote the family values they hoped to associate with football attendance in the 1970s. Like several other moral commentators, both British Rail and the Football League felt that the absence of women permitted a more chaotic masculine environment. In order to secure

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[117] Letter from A.E.T. Griffiths to D. Boswick, British Rail Headquarters, 1 September 1973. In PRO AN 156/469.

order and promote the idyllic, controlled football travel setting, Alan Hardaker, Chairman of the Football League, and subsequent member of several Working Parties on football hooliganism, provided inducements for the return of women to groups of traveling supporters. He hoped, "that the added touch of luxury provided by the League Liner, together with its unusual and novel facilities, would encourage soccer supporters to bring their wives and families – and girl friends – with them when they travel to away games."[118]

Rail officials assumed that women could aid in bringing about the desired levels of attentive discipline and tranquility within the railcars through a "civilizing" influence. The peculiar addition of "girl friends" to the group of wives and mothers indicated that football authorities felt that female presence, and not simply the presence of families, would lead to a calmer, more orderly disposition among young male supporter groups. Stereotyped values associated with femininity here hoped to deploy ideas of feminine presence as calming, docile, and mild-mannered. In contrast to the impressionistic stereotypes of young men as strident and sadistic, lacking gentlemanly conduct and middle-class values of propriety, females here represented a resource utilized by authorities to quell disorder. While both rail and football officials felt that the return of families would minimally discourage young men's collective behavior, the feminine presence provided the salve for this particularly infective scourge on British gentlemanly conduct. The presence of women would also provide distractions for young men,

[118] Press Release, British Railways Board, 23 January 1973, p. 2. In PRO AN 156/469.

assumed to be destructive in groups and when encouraged by one another. Hardaker states, "This is what we shall be providing to encourage the younger fan to bring along his girl. The more mature in age may prefer to while away the journey chatting, playing cards, or enjoying screened entertainment."[119] Clearly, women supporters also provided a practical companion for young men, encouraging interaction among young couples rather than among young men. The fear of young men associating and acting collectively posed a greater threat than interaction among young men and "their" girls. Women, seen to be an antidote to the dominant male presence, were encouraged to tag along to control and distract young male supporters while traveling to away games.

Clubs also experimented with ticketing schemes that assisted rail authorities in dividing up communal interaction within trains. Luton Town F.C. pioneered a workable plan to keep track of fan behavior without direct police surveillance. The club issued tickets for specific seats on away journeys, thus making travel subject to club standards. Furthermore, purchasing a ticket required submitting a verified address, making each individual liable for the damage caused to their individual seat and their railcar.[120] Though it cost the club considerable revenue, the Home Office distributed Luton's scheme to all other clubs as an example of beneficial football administration. Stoke City considered a scheme in which match and rail tickets could be combined, and stewards would be assigned to groups of supporters depending on their ticket numbers. Most

[119] Ibid, 2.

[120] Luton Scheme, presented in Home Office Circular/Questionnaire, 27 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

spectators, though, still insisted on paying at the turnstiles, and many avoided the schemes by making alternative travel plans. Though Luton found them successful in the short term, few other clubs followed suit. Ticket schemes, like all-ticket schemes for matches, did not coincide with spectator demand and thus caused administrative problems that made their wholesale implementation unlikely in the 1970s.

State and club authorities also viewed alcohol as an exacerbating factor in aggressive behavior. Alcohol, seen often as an incentive to violence and disorderly conduct among young men, provided an easy scapegoat for turmoil on the trains. As early as 1971 British Rail considered removing alcohol from football specials altogether. The British Transport Police Committee recommended a complete ban on intoxicants on trains due to an increased rise in attacks on BT police at railway stops and even during travel.[121] Rail authorities briefly considered this proposal but ultimately felt that a national ban would be damaging to the special revenue that football trains provided. British Rail, excited at the opportunity of securing several thousands of thirsty passengers to fifteen or so away matches a year, quickly quelled any consideration of total prohibition. One BR executive noted, "that restriction on the sale of intoxicants is not desirable as a general policy and would lead to the significant loss of revenue." He quickly added, in defense of his position, that "as a general comment, all the evidence suggests that the hooligan element consists of young teenagers who are <u>not</u> alcoholic

[121] Minutes of Meeting of British Transport Police Committee, 26 November 1971. In PRO AN 156/469.

drinkers."[122] Executives at British Rail acted quickly to ensure that revenues from alcohol—including that consumed by teenagers—would not be decreased. A full ban on alcohol on British Rail trains materialized in 1975, but only at the behest of Denis Howell and the Working Party.[123]

By 1975, British Rail reassessed the profitability of football services for a few reasons. First, several incidents in the 1975/76 season persuaded British Rail officials to reconsider their policies on pricecutting and policies which catered to the football market. Second, global economic crises resulted in fewer government subsidies to nationalized industries, forcing rail executives to recalculate the margins for profit on questionable services. The resulting changes revealed that British Rail could adopt a flexible policy in regards to pricing that moved from a strategy of securing the football market within controlled trains to excluding 'undesirable' passengers by pricing them out of the travel market. In sum, British Rail abandoned spectators outside of formal supporters' clubs and the revenue they produced. Over a two year period from 1975-76 British Rail deliberated over this change in policy. Rises in vandalism, the availability of a reduced British Transport police force, and club resistance to appointing and paying stewards for trains all influenced the decision to raise travel prices.[124] More significantly, though, the

[122] Internal memo from Executive Director of Passengers to the Principal Assistant to Chief Executive, 16 February 1972. In PRO AN 156/469.

[123] Notes of Meeting between Denis Howell, Department of the Environment, and British Rail officials, 4 September, 1974. The ban took effect on 30 July 1975. In PRO AN 156/469.

[124] For British Rail comments on reduced police presence and their battle with clubs to appoint stewards for trains, see Notes and Minutes on Football Traffic, by D.V. Ellison, Chief Passenger Marketing Manager, British Rail. In PRO AN 156/469.

public cognizance of British Rail supporting and encouraging the travel of unruly supporters proved too detrimental to the company's public relations. On 30 August 1975, in an "emergency measure", British Rail ceased to offer football specials and suspended the issue of all football travel tickets to away matches on Saturdays. The Executive Director of Passenger Travel recognized that, "This strong action, which met with a favourable response from the media, the public and the Minister for Sport, the Football Association and the Football League, had an immediately beneficial effect in 'pricing out' the potential troublemakers."[125]

Not only did British Rail's emergency measures remove discounts for football travelers, they intermittently raised the prices of Saturday trains to ensure that undesirable supporter groups could no longer make the journey. Here the distinction between 'genuine' supporters and 'hooligans' as a renewed class discourse became increasingly evident. As the state differentiated them, 'genuine' supporters were bourgeois supporters who could afford away game travel without problem, became associated with bourgeois values of propriety and gentlemanly sporting values, and represented the ideal football fan, representing club and country while out of their home city. Undesirable supporters acted out, disrespected authority, and constantly caused trouble for those regulating the rail industry. These distinctions were clearly made along class lines, and state authorities situated them at opposite ends of the football supporters' spectrum. As British Rail's headquarters commented: "It is not in the Board's best interests to cater for the 'Hooligan

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[125] Memorandum to British Railways Management Group from Executive Director of Passenger Affairs, 23 February, 1976, p. 2. PRO AN 156/469.

Market', nor to offer low fares to attract this class of football supporter." Denis Howell and the Working Party on Crowd Control completely agreed.[126] The League Liner, despite its advances in spectator entertainment and control, was removed from British Rail's fleet in 1976.[127] This policy executed a complete turnaround from the early 1970s, where undesirable fans were recruited not only for revenue, but also because they could be more easily controlled within train cars. Apparently, even the promise of public order proved too costly for British Rail.

British Rail soon realized that it needed to recover some of the revenue lost by recapturing the 'genuine' supporter market. Facing a projected loss of over £500,000 per year, British Rail needed to recoup select supporters without either violating its agreements with the Minister of Sport or allowing excessive vandalism to dissolve its quickly restored public image. Some stations had reported that the ban on football specials immediately caused other Saturday trains to be ravaged by undesirable football supporters, despite efforts to price them out.[128] Though British Rail had abandoned the 'hooligan' market, they still needed to ensure segregation between working-class and middle-class fans on Saturday trains. The Executive Director of Passengers noted that unruly supporters, "are being diverted to ordinary services, in the absence of special trains, and ordinary passengers are being deterred by their presence." Recalling the need

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[126] Ibid, 4.

[127] See Notes of a meeting of Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Misconduct, 13 February 1976. In PRO AN 156/469.

[128] See, for example, Letter from General Manager, Euston Station to Chief Executive of Railways, British Rail, 23 February 1976. In PRO AN 156/469.

to constantly maintain order, he added, “Control on ordinary trains is more difficult to achieve.”[129] Problematically, when British Rail eschewed the low-priced football specials, renewed problems with train segregation, control, and public relations emerged.

The answer to this apparent paradox was to allow other railway providers and clubs to charter trains at their own cost. Rail authorities decided to absorb the lack of revenue and divest themselves of the responsibility of transporting undesirable supporters. By allowing other railway providers and clubs to control the operation of trains, any further lapses in fan control and public disorder would be the liability of the clubs themselves. British Rail retained the ability to offer football specials “where commercially justified,” especially for areas that had a lower likelihood of violent groups of supporters and where incidents would be unnoticed by the watchdog media. Meanwhile, British Rail authorities set about recapturing the ‘genuine’ supporter market by incrementally raising ticket prices on Saturday trains and refusing travel to anyone viewed to be a “potential troublemaker.”[130] A final comment from the Executive summed up their new approach in 1976: “The effect on revenue must be accepted as a consequence of the withdrawal of unstewarded trains. Marketing activity for additional charter business, and for genuine supporters at Awayday fares must be increased to generate compensating revenue.”[131]

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[129] Memorandum to British Railways Management Group from Executive Director of Passenger Affairs, 23 February, 1976, p. 4. In PRO AN 156/469.

[130] Ibid, 3. Both quoted phrases pulled directly from the memo.

[131] Ibid, 4.

The end result of these changes to rail policy for football supporters was a flexible plan that allowed British Rail to capitalize on the revenue generated by football spectating while maintaining fans' segregation, a good public image of service from a nationalized industry, and a harsh but favorable response to incidents of public disorder. Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s British Rail maintained its ability to make this policy flexible, offering football specials where it served their capital interests and maintained spectators' classed segregation.[132] When British Rail revisited their policies on football travel again in 1985, they came to similar conclusions but further promoted the idea of assuring passengers remain seated. "More emphasis should be put on seat reservation systems for scheduled services, and seat regulation for football 'Saver' trains, to avoid the risk of overcrowding, which made Police control difficult."[133]

Overall, British Rail utilized an elastic approach to pricing that discouraged undesirable supporters from traveling on their trains unless on tightly controlled football specials, often by excluding them from travel on BR trains at all. When on trains, especially football specials, fans could expect to be constantly monitored by the direct presence of a variety of authorities, both uniformed and undercover. Stewards, seen to be less menacing and provocative than British Transport police, introduced self-policing as a measure of surveillance. Fans were limited by time and space to travel when state and rail authorities found it most convenient and least threatening. Finally, while on trains

[132] For the 1976/77 season, British Rail would accommodate fans from clubs that met certain specifications about stewarding and previous histories of vandalism. See letter from Mr. V. Chadwick, Chief Passenger Marketing Manager at British Rail to Denis Howell, 6 January 1976. In PRO AT 60/41.

[133] Extract of Minutes from Meeting of Railway Executive, 24 July 1985. In PRO AN 156/469.

young men were subject to a variety of incentives for separating and individualizing their travel experience, disciplining their personal attention, limiting their communal interaction, and discouraging avenues for collective vandalism or violence. These strategies involved distinct ideas of working-class deviance and gendered notions of femininity as a calming, distracting presence for transgressive young men. This variety of strategies ensured that control and surveillance of the football supporters' travel mirrored attempts at limiting their freedom while inside stadiums. Such policies aimed at breaking up communal activities among working-class supporters both inside and outside sports grounds.

Conclusions

In addition to understanding the mandate for all-seated stadiums as the beginning of a new era of commercial football, we can also see the directive as the final step in a long transition from unregulated football entertainment to disciplined and attentive sports consumption. The Taylor Report built upon existing policies which regulated physical space through tactics of division, segregation, and enclosure. These policies, constructed in the 1960s and 1970s, provided better police facilitation and aimed at containing and controlling fan behavior both within and outside stadiums. Throughout, government officials and police management of physical space reflected their multiple prejudices against violent spectators as working-class, young, and male. The body, as a scientific and technical concept, became increasingly subject to government research that

attempted to define the boundaries of acceptable injury. In addition, the construction and concentration of attention became a primary strategy, and government officials implemented entertainment distractions in efforts to divert spectators' interest away from communal and potentially violent forays in the terraces. Because these mechanisms constituted a hostile reaction to spectators and a financial burden to clubs, they faced opposition from both groups of social actors. Divisions of physical space and segregation threatened the physical well-being of spectators by creating an environment that defined opposition, created possibilities for injury through crowd immobility, and attempted to treat the problem of crowd violence through the creation of a setting where violent reactions were both threatening and plausible.

Chapter Four- Police and the State:

Tactics, Networks and the Development of Football Policing

Contemporary academic commentators have suggested that, in a general sense, the football arena reflected the axiom that increased social control often leads to increased social deviance.[1] More specifically, and through the use of documentary evidence in this chapter, I will show that increased police interventions into the social arena of football produced mutual antagonisms between spectators and police which resulted in a greater incidence of police brutality. Police officials, through the organization of the sports ministry in London, tested new tactics which produced reciprocal enmity between the two social groups in progressively more cruel and violent environments within and around stadiums. Police constables and spectators negotiated new social spaces as they emerged, most often through interactions between police and fans that became fiercely hostile. This chapter shows how in the late 1960s and 1970s these contentious relationships developed over time and were contingent upon directives from government inquiries. Controversial police practices in the 1990s, which have been the focus of other studies, drew on long-standing approaches which developed through fragmentary and unsystematic trials in previous decades.[2]

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[1] Ian Taylor, "Soccer Consciousness and Soccer Hooliganism," in Stanley Cohen, ed., *Images of Deviance* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971).

[2] Clifford Stott, P. Hutchinson and John Drury, " 'Hooligans' Abroad?: Inter-Group Dynamics, Social Identity, and Participation in Collective 'Disorder' at the 1998 World Cup Finals," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 40 (2001), 359-84; Clifford Stott, "Police Expectations and the Control of English Soccer Fans at 'Euro 2000'," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* 26 (2003), 640-55.

Previous academic inquiries into policing football have been almost entirely ethnographic, and therefore focused on the period after the late 1980s, when anthropological and sociological interest in police involvement in football peaked. These studies provide useful models for understanding police behavior and interpersonal interaction between fans and police over the last twenty years.[3] Though insightful into police and legal practices at specific locales, these academic inquests have often been anecdotal and descriptive, rather than analytical or historical.[4] In this chapter I use police reports, records from the Home Office meetings with police officials, and other government correspondence and documents, to elucidate the government's role in shaping police policy on a national level in regards to football violence. These reports disclose the expansion of new tactics, shared information, and the historical development of policing football violence as it emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Though the government did not test specific policing strategies, they certainly aimed to project an image of public security and governmental authority by increased policing of football violence. Government and police officials wanted to cultivate an aura of toughness within a cultural context where the public valued law-and-order discipline. Like architectural changes and threats of greater punishment through magistrates' courts, heavier police intervention signaled a response to social fears of

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[3] Clifford Stott, "How Conflict Escalates: The Inter-Group Dynamics of Collective Football Crowd 'Violence'," *Sociology* 32 (1998), 353-77; Megan O'Neill, *Policing Football: Social Intervention and Negotiated Disorder* (New York: Berg, 2005).

[4] Part II of John Williams, Eric Dunning, and Patrick Murphy, *Hooligans Abroad: The Behaviour and Control of English Fans in Continental Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1984); Chapters Four and Five of Gary Armstrong, *Football Hooligans* (New York: Berg, 1998).

youth degeneration and violence. These strategies performed a political function as well as a practical one. While others have commented on how police used conflicts with spectators as opportunities to improve constables' authoritative image, I argue here that the British government advocated a similar logic.[5] Government officials used a strong police presence to capitalize on the public's fears about football violence, rendering government ministries intimidating and inflexible to "hooligan" criminals while displacing blame for social problems.

Finally, the areas of social control on which scholars have concentrated their attention reflect contemporary political concerns with civil rights and invasions of privacy, especially undercover police infiltrating football gangs and CCTV.[6] The academic analyses of CCTV and police brutality often neglect the relationality, negotiation, and historical evolution of incendiary police tactics and implements of social control. Processes of identification, communication, and arrest in football policing developed over time, contingent upon immediate circumstances and the contest between different groups of social actors. In essence, CCTV and ID cards for spectators did not arise out of nowhere in the mid-1980s. These provocative instruments were the outcomes of longer transitions within policing mentalities, developmental processes that

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[5] For the argument about police building their own public image through football in the late 1980s and 1990s, see Armstrong, *Football Hooligans*, 38, 107; Dick Hobbs in the film *Trouble on the Terraces* (Castle Communications, 1994).

[6] See Gary Armstrong and Dick Hobbs, "Tackled from Behind," in Richard Giulianotti, Norman Bonney and Mike Hepworth, eds., *Football, Violence and Social Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Gary Armstrong and Dick Hobbs, "High Tackles and Professional Fouls: The Policing of Soccer Hooliganism," in Cyrille Fijnaut and Gary T. Marx eds., *Undercover Police Surveillance in Comparative Perspective* (Boston: Kluwer Law International, 1995).

emphasized the need for better criminal identification, and early attempts to negotiate police strategies that prevented football violence. I contend that processes of identification and verbal communication networks predated CCTV as the state and police officials attempted to develop more precise intervention and control tactics. In order to understand the emergence of these invasive practices, we must also understand police tactical development within the football world as well as the historical context in which they surfaced.

The policing of football stadiums and the areas around them certainly provided widespread benefits for testing police policy and tactics outside of football, even though police officials and the state never planned to do so. Police frequently experimented with new tactics that stretched previous police powers, but the police involved never intended those tactics to be used outside of the football arena. The immediate demands of curbing crowd violence and disorderly spectator behavior precluded the premeditated development of police tactics through the football “laboratory”. Identification and communication strategies improved over time, but their implementation was piecemeal and negotiated amongst many social agents, including spectators. Nevertheless, the epiphenomenal outcomes of police tactical development against football violence were subsequently reused in other venues, becoming part of conventional policing and surveillance in the late twentieth century. The state oversaw these developments and exerted a strong influence on police policy at football grounds through government inquiries, centralized police conferences and meetings, and ministerial conversations about social control of the football environment. Throughout the 1970s the government

mediated discussions about what worked in different areas, how the stadium should be policed, and how to combine new police tactics with the latest architectural implements. The football environment again provided an opportunity for the development of tough law-and-order policy acted out through police practices, which in many cases, produced procedures advocated in other policed venues.

Police Actors and the Rise of Police Presence

As football violence emerged as both a practical and political conundrum in the late 1960s, Home Office ministers and police officials discussed possible solutions at the highest level. Through the government-commissioned inquiries into football violence, Home Office and Department of Environment authorities debated police tactics, analyzed what worked in different situations, and shared ideas about police conduct. These discussions involved police figures on several different levels. The Home Office consistently met with the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and the chief constables of each borough in England and Scotland. The government asked for the opinions of these officers because they hoped to involve them in the development and standardization of police practices against football violence. In addition to these national meetings, ministers from the different commissions and Denis Howell's Working Party often met with local police officers and station managers while touring each club's stadium. Therefore, the national government discussed ideas on all levels both in effort to build a homogenous national police policy against football violence and to measure its

practical implementation in stadiums. Though these commissions settled on final recommendations that they intermittently distributed to football clubs, police practices were the product of high-level professional discussions, clubs' direct circumstances, the nuances of individual stadiums, and local police routines.

Several different groups of police actors could be involved in the supervision of any given match. British transport police monitored spectators' travel to and from the match on railcars and train stations. Traffic police maintained the flow of vehicles in and around stadiums, but also monitored the spectators within eye's view outside the ground. Local police officers could occupy any number of predetermined positions in or around the stadiums, and many of them volunteered for overtime duty or were forced to work during bigger matches. Police spotters and plain clothes policemen patrolled the streets and the terraces, monitoring spectators' behaviors. They often called on uniformed police for assistance in regulating problems. Stewards received pay for their surveillance of in-stadium activities: they monitored what happened in the terraces and asked for police assistance for any suspicious conduct. Rather than treating police as an undifferentiated body, understanding their interaction with supporters necessitates distinguishing their direct responsibilities in any given situation.

Generally, the police constables became the means of implementing the policies of containment and crowd regulation debated on the national level. Their interaction with sports ministers and government officials can be described as presentational and authoritative. Police officials wanted to expound their competency in directing the events

around football matches.[7] Like police reports, police interviews with Denis Howell and others never admit defeat and attempt to convey the semblance of trustworthiness and fortitude. In addition, they consistently downplayed the levity of any given incident, and frequently saw the media's sensationalization of events as counterproductive.[8] Police officials wanted to be seen as level-headed, in control of events, and preventating escalation. Police reports of actual incidents present a similar posture. They conveyed their organization, preparedness, and authority over any given episode by telling the story, noting which officers dispelled the riotous spectators and how they conducted themselves. Many of them gave details of the game, including what events might have caused changes in fan behavior.[9] In most of their interactions, police officials communicated their competency and diligence, especially when taking their local ideas to national government representatives.

One frequent topic of discussion among the government and police officials was the rising cost of regulating matches as the numbers of police rose. As noted earlier, police costs drastically increased as police presence multiplied. Generally speaking, the Home Office made it clear that any police forces used inside the stadium should be

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[7] For one example among many, see "Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems Visit to Birmingham City," 1 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

[8] See Metropolitan Police report, Shepherd's Bush Station, Branch Note, "Queen's Park Rangers Versus Millwall Football Match Report," 28 March 1966. In PRO MEPO 2/9483. The Harrington Report also commented on police views of the media. The submissions to the Harrington Report by Police Constables also reflect this disposition towards the media. See the wide variety of reponses in PRO HLG 120/1465. Megan O'Neill's work on Scottish football policing in the twenty-first century analyzes at length how police present themselves. See O'Neill, *Policing Football* (2005).

[9] See, for example, Chief Superintendent J.D.B. Chester, Northumberland Constabulary report on incidents at St. James' Park, 9 March 1974. In PRO AT 25/246, file 11.

compensated by the clubs, and police resources used outside were paid by the state. Clubs, however, were often reluctant to pay for rising police costs, and the Ministry of Sport sympathized with their dilemma. As one New Scotland Yard official lamented, "There's no profit in security."[10] Comparing the number of police staffed for matches before and after the outbreak of football violence reveals the extreme escalation of policing costs. In the 1950s and early 1960s clubs used minimal security and rarely paid exorbitant police fees. As one police superintendent in Millwall mentioned, "The rough and generally accepted yard-stick of 1 P.C. [police constable] per 1,000 spectators has always been used as a basis."[11] Even matches where police expected trouble or club officials worried about security outside of grounds drew ratios such as 1:500-600.[12] Before the late 1960s, clubs usually employed one Chief Inspector, one Police Sergeant, and 15-20 Police Constables for duty inside grounds, with 20 to 40 extra officers for traffic duty outside the grounds. Police expected few problems and therefore rarely needed to employ extra officers during matches.[13]

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[10] See Notes of Deputy Assistant Commissioner 'A' (Operations), New Scotland Yard, 2 September 1970. Sent to D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office, 7 September 1970. In PRO HO 287/2052.

[11] Metropolitan Police, Catford Station, "Millwall Football Club- Police Arrangments," 17 October 1967. In PRO MEPO 2/7991.

[12] See Metropolitan Police, Southwark Station, "Milwall Cup Tie," 28 January 1957. In PRO MEPO 2/7991, file 17A. For a Millwall F.A. Cup tie at Cold Blow Lane the club paid for roughly 90 officers for 45,646 spectators, a ratio of 1:507. This ratio is representative of other police registers during this era. See match reports in MEPO 2/7991, MEPO 2/8245, MEPO 2/9483, MEPO 2/11286.

[13] See Metropolitan Police Report, Southwark station, 26 January 1957, Millwall vs. Newcastle Cup Tie. In PRO MEPO 2/7991. The station deployed approximately 115 officers for 42,000 fans because authorities expected problems with traffic and crowd ingress/egress.

When the incidence of football disorder increased, police ratios changed to approximately 1:100, or even lower, as clubs and the state requested additional officers. By the mid-1970s, routine league matches had gradually increased the number of officers to about 200-300 officers per match.[14] When clubs expected larger attendance, they kept police on call and managed the match by a rough estimate of one officer per hundred fans.[15] Smaller clubs also reinforced police regulation when larger club followings visited their grounds. Halifax Town F.C. employed 65 police to monitor 5,849 spectators (1:89) when they expected trainloads of visiting Aston Villa fans.[16] In some rare cases, where both sides had large followings, clubs could employ over 600 officers for a single match.[17] Clubs also supplied stewards to supplement official police, most of whom, "have no powers except to ask or encourage spectators to move away from gangways, or to identify troublemakers." Arsenal and Manchester United used 100 stewards at each match, and the Football Association employed 1,000 for each game played at Wembley

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[14] For example, see Leicestershire Constabulary report on Leicester City vs. Liverpool, 8 September 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053. Police schedules indicate an Assistant Chief Constable, one Chief Superintendent of Police, one Superintedent of Police, nine Inspectors, 21 Sergeants, 220 Constables, ten Special Constables and two Police Dogs all serviced the match.

[15] For example, Leeds United employed 450 police for an estimated attendance of 44,500 fans. See report of Assistant Chief Constable W.A.J. Goulding, Area Headquarters in Leeds, 18 October, 1976. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[16] See Minute Sheet of Halifax Subdivision, 17 November 1970. In PRO HO 287/2051.

[17] See Operational Order and police register for Notts County vs. Manchester United, 25 March 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053. 596 total police personnel employed for the match.

stadium.[18] In response to the rising prevalence of football violence, clubs and the Home Office drastically increased the number of police and stewards present.

Relations between fans and police ranged from amicable to abusive. Obviously, contact between the two groups could be harmonious when the terraces proved less violent. Police chiefs often assigned officers to fixed posts week after week to encourage police and fans becoming familiar with one another, much like the foot patrols later used in conflict-ridden neighborhoods after the 1981 race riots. PC Alan Smith remembered, "You'd get to know the fans, that was the idea of it."[19] The assignment could foster harmonious relationships between the two groups, but was meant to give the police the advantage of identifying spectators should any trouble arise. In some stadiums, this policy extended cordial rapport built before football violence increased in the mid-1960s. One P.C. at Arsenal F.C. in London recollected the mood in the early 1960s: "It was lovely. They used to really look after you, the supporters. You weren't a copper, really. You were just there." The afternoon could be completely pleasurable for police, who got paid handsomely to watch a match. The same officer commented, "1958, 59, into the 60s, it was sheer enjoyment. We came here, we watched the football and we got paid for it. We got paid overtime! And never any trouble."[20]

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[18] See chart of Police and Steward Employment at Association Football Grounds in England and Scotland, 1973/74. In PRO HO 300/108, file 18. Quote from Arsenal F.C. description of steward responsibilities.

[19] Tom Watt, ed., *The End: 80 Years of Life on Arsenal's North Bank* (London: Mainstream Publishing, 1993), 157.

[20] *Ibid*, 124-125.

At many grounds, harmonious relationships between home supporters and the police extended into the 1970s as fans and police became familiar with one another.

In a few police reports, spectators and officers praised each other's conduct. Police officers often defended fans from their locale, and attributed all of the trouble to visiting supporters who raided an otherwise peaceful environment. Several reports include special notes that express the police's praise for the home supporters.[21] In one witness statement, a Middlesbrough fan complained that the local police were apathetic to protecting them from home fans and perceived away supporters' presence to be the catalyst for violence. The police denied the witness's group an escort after a bloody incident occurred seconds earlier, and one officer said, "It's you lot from Middlesbrough that's causing all the trouble."[22] Fans also praised police, albeit infrequently, when they did provide security within violent fracases. One traveling fan wrote to Halifax police after a match: "May I take the opportunity to applaud and congratulate your force and yourself on a truly magnificent plan and operation last Saturday in getting M.U.F.C. supporters safely to their coaches. It goes without saying, that [there] would have been a 'bloodbath' otherwise."[23] Indeed, relations between spectators and fans could be good-natured, especially when mutual interests of safety and security prevailed.

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[21] See, for example, Hampshire Constabulary Report, Southampton F.C. vs. Manchester United, 26 February 1977. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[22] Statement of Witness, William Kay, taken by Greater Manchester Police, 21 April 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[23] J.D. Marron in unaddressed letter (to Halifax Police Branch?), 23 March 1976. Received in Home Office police report files, 24 March 1976. In PRO HO 287/2053.

However, police reports more frequently indicated violent and hostile relationships between the two groups in the majority of matches. Certainly, police officers usually documented transgressions and not celebrations of good conduct. Nonetheless, their reports suggested the prevalence of menacing relations with spectators. In addition to listing the approximate numbers of those arrested and ejected, many police reports also listed injuries and included narratives of conflicts with fans. One representative report at White Hart Lane, Tottenham F.C.'s home ground, listed seven arrests and three police injuries: one officer got a bruised cheek while fighting with a fan, another received bruised ribs while fighting with crowd, and the last had his skull membrane broken after being kicked in the head while wading into the crowd to stop a disturbance.[24] Police also took abuse when manning the divisions of physical space, usually from missiles thrown from the terraces. One superintendent reported that after several youths threatened to invade the pitch in Leeds, "I therefore formed a line of officers between that Stand and the goal line to prevent any further interference. These men were subjected to missiles in the form of coins, bottles, beer cans, stones and in one case, an open knife, from spectators in the North Stand." No serious injuries were sustained but the superintendent feared for his officers' safety in future episodes.[25] Police reported hundreds of episodes similar to these, reporting fans' hostility when police

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[24] Schedule of Police Injured, Metropolitan Police Office, A8 Branch, 29 April 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[25] Leeds City Police Report, Superintendent Fieldhouse, Leeds United vs. West Bromwich Albion, 20 April 1971. In PRO HO 287/2053.

enforced policies of containment and when they entered the terraces to stop transgressive behavior.

The increasing number of police present at football matches failed to decrease the incidence of violence between fans and with police. While peaceful relationships between fans and police prevailed in some areas, most notably in smaller clubs and where large groups of traveling supporters failed to materialize, interaction generally became more polarized and oppositional. Police often provided new targets for spectators, and fans frequently antagonized them as part of the day's entertainment. As stadium environments continued to change, police and spectators engaged in conflicts over spatial control and conduct regulation. Spectators reacted against attempts to normalize their behavior and restrict their mobility. In response, police consistently tested new tactics which aimed at better identifying suspects and more effective intervention.

The Development of Tactics and Strategies

Throughout the period, police at both the local and national levels experimented with new techniques that fostered stricter control of spectators' behavior. These ideas were shared at national meetings of police organizations, through government inquiries into police strategies at large matches, and through government ministers' visits to local grounds. Many of these strategies evoked new anxieties among spectators within the stadiums, intensifying tensions between the police and supporters. New police strategies made the distinction between spectator and police very identifiable as traditional

agreeable relations broke down. The antagonistic and confrontational nature of police relations with spectators helped to define opposition not only between groups of rival fans, but also between police and spectators generally. Yet, these tactics discussed at the national level were only intermittently and inconsistently implemented. Police constables only used tactics that succeeded within direct circumstances and according to immediate demands for order within their districts. When some tactics failed to provide the necessary control, local police changed them on-the-fly, leading to the piecemeal development of football police practices across Britain. As in any contest for social power, intermittent conflicts constituted the negotiation of power on the ground level, and both spectators and police contributed to the materialization of new forms of social control.

One scholar typologized five basic police practices by observing Aston Villa F.C. in Birmingham in the late 1970s. Police used their presence, verbal warnings, physical searches, ejection, and arrest as their fundamental strategies in deterring unwanted behavior.[26] In my review of police reports, I have found that police certainly used all of these practices, but in diverse ways in different grounds. Police officers developed tactics over time, shared them with other constabulary districts across Britain, and tested them with local officers in individual districts. Like physical space policies, government ministers coordinated police strategies by mediating discussions of what worked and what failed in given situations.

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[26] Jerry M. Lewis, “Crowd Control at English Football Matches,” *Sociological Focus* 15:4 (October, 1982), 417-423.

As football violence emerged as a severe problem, the government thought that proliferating police presence would intimidate rowdy spectators into normative behaviors. Police in Glasgow felt that when crowd troubles began to surface during the 1968/69 season, a temporary increase in police at league games for a few months would ward off any further disturbances. Police representatives suggested to the Lang commission that, "a temporary increase in the number of policemen be utilised, until such times as the situation returned to more normal conditions."[27] Government ministers also wanted to present numerous police officers strategically at different spaces inside and outside stadiums to project the fortitude of their authority. They assumed that if spectators witnessed long lines of police they would be less likely to commit transgressions the first place. Frank Williamson, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Crime, wrote to the Home Office: "Obviously the police strength around the ground and on the ground must be of such a nature as to indicate a real certainty of detection to those who are inclined to commit any offense."[28] He added in another Home Office briefing that these police should be placed in calculated locations where crime could be effectively deterred through the threat of detection. Williamson identified the area between the railway station and the stadium to be the place where the visual effect of police would be most effective.[29] The desire to represent police authority through a show

[27] Working Party on Crowd Behavior at Football Matches, Report of a Meeting, Ibrox Park, 16 June 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[28] Frank Williamson, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Crime, to D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office, 17 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[29] Williamson quoted by J.H. Waddell, Home Office, in letter to Roy Jenkins, 12 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/2052.

of numerous officers aimed to maintain peaceful conduct as visiting spectators passed through the city.

Police officials also experimented with other strategic displays of power. In Stoke, local police stations agreed to crack down on disorder and violence early on in the season to alert those involved of the competency of resident constables. They wanted to notify the local press about their early exploits, and thus publicize their regulation of behavior early, setting a tone for the rest of the season.[30] Williamson also felt that sending particularly competent police along with clubs' traveling supporters would diminish the amount of criminal activity in other grounds. He recommended that police place their most competent and threatening officers at the main sites of trouble at away matches.[31] This practice would breed familiarity between traveling fans and daunting police who began to catalog their behaviors.

In the main, increased police presence failed to prevent or deter football violence. Further, greater numbers of police officers caused other problems. Harrington's group, who read reports from every major constabulary office and conducted fieldwork at several matches throughout 1967, found that police presence produced paradoxical results. "At times the mere sight of police officers in strength seems to antagonize and inflame the crowd," they reported. Furthermore, "large numbers of police on the

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[30] See Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Stoke City, 25 July 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

[31] Williamson's suggestion noted in "Report of Visit to Bristol," 22 August 1974. In PRO AT 25/247.

perimeter can obstruct vision. We have seen this inflame spectators whose views were obstructed."[32] Harrington's group interpreted these findings as further evidence of the need for moats to free police from patrolling the boundaries of the field. More importantly, the efforts of police officials to show their force in numbers infuriated and annoyed the crowd, exacerbating hostility between the two groups and often leading to increased conflict between them. Resentment stemmed from all different types of fans who disliked being overpowered and constantly monitored. "Abuse comes not only from the section of the crowd from which the offender is being removed," in the case of an arrest, Harrington noted, "but also from persons who are presumably responsible citizens."[33] Increased police presence made spectators exceedingly uncomfortable, and often intensified existing tensions within stadium grounds.

In addition to displaying their considerable authority, local police forces also tried out new tactics for intervention in the terrace areas. As shown above, police constables were injured when they entered the terraces to make arrests, break up fights, and stop other disturbances. Spectators often attacked them or inhibited them as they moved toward the center of disorder. Police developed tactics that provided greater protection in numbers when they found it necessary to wade into the terraces. 'Snatch squads' enabled police to dive into the crowd and make arrests or quell disturbances while other officers fended off attacks from spectators. In practice, the police usually snatched everyone

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[32] J.A. Harrington, Research Director, *Soccer Hooliganism: A Preliminary Report* (Bristol: John Wright and Sons, Ltd., 1968), 35.

[33] *Ibid,* 40.

within arm's reach and ejected them when a fracas ensued. David Smith, Chairman of the National Federation of Football Supporters' Clubs recalled: "Constables jump into the massed spectators in an attempt to quell the so-called trouble and, as a result of the tightly packed crowd and therefore the inability to reach the designated location, proceed to evict many innocent supporters." He further complained that, "There is no doubt in the minds of a great many supporters that the majority of arrests made within the confines of a football ground involve innocent supporters," which moved supporters towards, "a policy of non-co-operation."[34] Arrests and violence which targeted random supporters, rather than those culpable for disorder, alienated innocent spectators.

Police constables at Manchester often charged the crowd to prevent swaying and surging within the enclosures. Manchester United supporters' well-earned reputation for violence was met with innovative and dangerous police tactics. One of Howell's constituents protested to police tactics in one confrontation: "To see a group surging forward and then witness a line of Policemen with arms linked having to charge the crowd like a bull dozer."[35] Such charges certainly endangered both police and spectators, and betrayed that the police were willing, and sometimes eager, to engage in violence with raucous fans.

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[34] National Federation of Football Supporters' Clubs Conference Report, May 1975, p. 48. In Rogan Taylor, *Football and Its Fans: Supporters and Their Relations with the Game, 1885-1985* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1992), 164-165.

[35] Mrs. J. McKay to Denis Howell, 2 May 1974. In PRO AT 60/12.

The use of police dogs and mounted police also endangered fans but provided police with a protective companion and innovative ways of directing and threatening crowds of spectators. Mounted police afforded police a larger physical presence while directing traffic. Horses worked like moveable walls: they closed off streets, directed crowds through walkways between the rail station and the stadium, and closed off throughways for traffic. Officers frequently used horses to escort crowds on the long walk from the train station to the stadium, closing off side streets and ensuring that spectators followed a guided path.[36] Most major grounds employed mounted police by 1971, not only for traffic direction, but also for crowd control.[37] As segregation emerged as a routine policy at most major clubs, horses could also provide separation between rival groups before officials could install permanent barriers.[38] Police horses also became a symbolic threat to potentially rowdy fans. Like a police baton or other weaponry, police horses were tools at the disposal of the officers which could be used to cause panic, intimidate groups of fans, and extend police officers' individual power. In

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[36] For example of use of mounted police for escorts, see Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Stoke City, 25 July 1974. In PRO HO 300/112, file 44.

[37] See Part II of Appendix B to Winterbottom Report, Commander H. Mitchell, Metropolitan Police, p.7. In PRO HLG 120/1618. Mitchell indicated that 27 of 40 total grounds employed roughly ten horses, while four (unnamed) major clubs used twenty horses per match.

[38] See Chief Constable, Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary to D.J. Trevelyan, 24 November 1970. In PRO HO 287/2051, file 15.

essence, mounted police offered both a flexible and portable barrier but also a menacing presence in the theatrical displays of police power.[39]

The introduction of police dogs became hotly contested among police officials and the Home Office in the late 1960s. Like horses, police dogs exacerbated spectator anxieties and could be extremely dangerous when mishandled. Therefore, public officials reluctantly initiated dog patrols in very defined situations. As early as 1965, the ACPO considered police dogs as effective tools in preventing violence and controlling crowds during the upcoming World Cup. The Secretary of the organization recommended that individual constabularies consider their use in concert with fences and barriers in certain areas. Early trials of dog patrols at Derby had proven successful, and the ACPO found that the use of police dogs at continental stadiums suggested that they might help constables control activities at the grounds.[40] However, both historical precedent and Home Office orders prevented the use of dogs specifically for crowd management. When Dennis Fellows at the Football Association raised the notion to the police superintendent at Catford police station, in charge of patrolling Millwall's home ground in central London, station managers and the club reasoned that the Home Office would never allow it. The superintendent commented that, "it would not be favourably received in many quarters. I expressed the view that I was reasonably certain it would

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[39] Gary Armstrong has described how police forces in Sheffield used mounted police indiscrimnately to charge crowds in streets as well, in order to move them along or force them to flee an area. See *Football Hooligans: Knowing the Score* (New York: Berg, 1998), 107-108.

[40] Honorary Secretary of Association of Chief Police Officers of England and Wales, to Chief Constabularies at the London Metropolis, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Middlesbrough, Sheffield, and Sunderland. Dated 28 April 1965. In PRO MEPO 2/9483.

not be countenanced either by Home Office or police as it is not policy to permit the use of police dogs purely for crowd control. The inherent dangers were all too obvious."[41] Early on, officers recognized that dogs could be threatening, but also hazardous if uncontrolled or attacked in riotous situations.

A confidential document prepared for the World Cup disclosed police knowledge about the potential for violence with dog patrols around football crowds. The Metropolitan Police Commisioner's Office prepared a brief on police dogs to be distributed to stations using them during the 1966 proceedings. It begins by stating their utility: "Dogs are a very effective deterrent against rowdyism and when used to patrol areas where this may occur often prevent it from developing." The commisioner added that, "Experience shows that a handler and his dog can safely deal with a small compact group of people, of a dozen or so, and the dog controls them by showing aggressive intentions whilst on a short lead." The threat of aggression and the potential for violence made the dog a valuable weapon against a small group of disorderly fans. However, interaction with crowds could be chaotic and ill-defined, and in many cases, "the dog becomes confused and cannot be under the strict control of the handler. If it is accidentally trodden upon or if the handler is jostled, pushed or assaulted, the dog will tend to bite indiscriminately." Clearly, police officials knew the risks of introducing dog patrols, especially in the melees which commonly occured at football grounds, yet nonetheless established them as a resource in the battle against football violence. Most

[41] Chief Superintendent John B. Smith, Catford Station, Metropolitan Police, Report on Millwall Football Club, Police Arrangements, 17 October 1967. In PRO MEPO 2/7991, file 39A.

importantly, the document noted that, "dogs must not be present or used at demonstrations or at political or industrial meetings."[42] Metropolitan Police recognized the Home Office mandate against using dog patrols for crowd management, yet designated football matches as non-political events, and therefore outside of standard "crowd control" regulations, in order to be able to use them in this specific setting.

Police authorities clearly understood the dangers of using potentially violent dogs, especially in tight and chaotic environments, and therefore wanted to manage the public fallout regarding their use. After noting that dogs could indeed, "bite indiscriminately," the ACPO commented: "Further, and this is quite important, the use of dog patrols may have an adverse effect on police/public relations."[43] Rather than serving the public, the use of dogs at football matches concretized polar opposition between the public and police. Nonetheless, police officials accepted the faulty premise that the use of violence against football spectators would reduce violence altogether. Dog patrols constituted a menacing threat to spectator safety, but proved a risk police officials willingly accepted.

Eventually, police stations across the nation used dog patrols in several different aspects of crowd control and to supplement individual officers. By 1977, they also

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[42] T.E. Mahir, Assistant Commissioner, Commissioner's Office D9 Branch, Confidential Instruction on Police Dogs Use in Connection with Rowdyism and Crowds, 8 April 1965. In PRO MEPO 2/9483.

[43] C.G. Burrows, Honorary Secretary, Association of Chief Police Officers of England and Wales and Chief Constable's Office, Oxford, in document 11/52/17. In PRO MEPO 2/9483. I speculate that the ACPO were concerned about the use of police dogs in this capacity after publicized accounts of dog violence in the policing of the American civil rights movement in the early 1960s.

helped in escorting fans from railway stations.[44] Most often, though, officers used trained dogs to break up crowds and fight off attacks. Like police horses, police dogs augmented the capabilities of the individual officer, and thus improved the efficiency of individual police work at a time when police resources could be thin. The addition of a dog to an officer's patrol allowed him/her to make an arrest alone in severe circumstances. Dogs could also help to corner subjects and protect the officer if attacked. In the football stadium, officials used them most often to prevent pitch invasions. Club officials at Manchester United championed the use of dogs at Old Trafford, and wrote to Howell with a description of police success in clearing the field after an invasion: "There was no way this could have been achieved by uniformed men without the dogs. Not one spectator encroached on the pitch all afternoon."[45] Clubs and their police respected the immediate authority dogs granted them by advocating the threat of animal violence against spectators.

Despite these practical applications, police dogs, like mounted police, were seen to be most useful for their threatening presence. Members of Parliament relished the idea of dog patrols keeping crowds in order and intimidating fans, and urged that it become part of the government's suggestions to clubs. James Johnson (Labour, Hull) remarked that, "There has been marked efficiency, on the pavements, by the police, much of which is due to the use of dogs. We in Hull believe that bullies and thugs fear police dogs."

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[44] See Cleveland Constabulary report on Arsenal vs. Middlesbrough, 23 March 1977. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[45] Manchester United Football Club, Secretary for and on Behalf of the Board, to Home Office, Report of events at Old Trafford, 27 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112, file 25.

Even Denis Howell admitted that dogs could be inexact in their identification of defenders: "There is some evidence that it is difficult to control spectators with dogs actually near them, because dogs cannot pick out offenders."[46] Police reports indicated that dogs did indeed cause severe alarm among spectators. One match investigation report noted that after the introduction of police dogs, pitch invasions ceased immediately: "Two dog handlers and dogs were used and the remainder kept in reserve and their effect on the crowd was dramatic. A large number of them who previously had appeared to be affected by mass hysteria immediately changed mood to one of apprehension and near panic and rapidly retreated."[47] Clearly, police dogs and police horses imparted terror in confrontations with football fans. As police officers, clubs, and the Home Office became more comfortable with their use at football matches, they became an increasingly effective tactic that used the threat of violence to ward off potential violence.

Police authorities and government officials also advocated the development of various strategies in which spectators policed each other. Many police officers complained that fans failed to offer any kind of support to the police in their efforts to arrest or eject other spectators. Police in Edinburgh lamented that, "the general public are in the main apathetic towards the difficulties confronting the police and are seldom

[46] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 882 (4 December 1974), col. 1533-1535.

[47] Northumberland Constabulary Report, Football Match at St. James Park, 12 March 1974. In PRO AT 25/246.

prepared to give physical support."[48] Spectators also rarely came forward as witnesses in court.[49] Police believed that fans failed to help the police because they feared retaliation: "Some hooligans are so vicious that members of the public are afraid to identify them to the police."[50] Other police officials told members of the Lang inquiry that asking 'genuine' spectators to identify culprits for ejection or arrest worked very well. The Lang inquiry hoped to further such strategies by asking supporters' clubs to keep their own blacklists, denying transgressors special travel privileges or ticket allocations.[51] Both tactics used spectators to help police identify perpetrators of violence, but proved imperfect and subjective.

Stadium stewards also became a mechanism for control. Culled from the home team's supporters, stewards provided a mediating role between spectators and police. In stadiums as on trains, stadium stewards performed many of the tasks which constables did not want to become involved in: removing alcohol, stopping foul or threatening language, stopping underage drinking, packing pens, and breaking up dense crowds. While in the 1990s stewards replaced many police at many grounds, earlier stewards acted as intermediaries between police and supporters. In the 1950s and early 1960s

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[48] R.M.M. Campbell, Assistant Chief Constable, City of Edinburgh Police, to Harrington Commission, 23 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[49] William Smith, Chief Constable, City of Aberdeen Police, to Harrington Commission, 16 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[50] Derby County and Borough Constabulary to Harrington Commission, 21 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[51] Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches, Report of a Meeting Held at Ibrox Park, Glasgow, 16 June 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

stewards contributed to the communal aspects of football spectating, providing the essential functions of maintaining safety for supporters and building relationships with them. One steward at Arsenal described his role:

> I quickly learnt that I would have to put up with a good deal of banter from the crowd…The only method of gaining the confidence of the people is by addressing them personally, and it was surprising how quickly they responded. When they found one was pointing to them as an individual and was anxious to place them in a spot which was vacant, they moved with alacrity…The two years I have spent on this task have proved to be very enjoyable. I have made many friends with the spectators and look forward to the many individual chats I have each week.[52]

Such affable relations continued as football violence increased, though now police and club officials wanted to redefine the stewards' role.

Government officials, club authorities and police constables used the genial interaction between stewards and spectators as a strategic means to better facilitate police work. Officials recognized the potential for employing stewards as community liaisons between those involved in crowd management and spectators. In addition to their accepted responsibilities, "stewards could also be trained in the projection of the 'family entertainment image, and thereafter could be the social contact and link man in each crowd compartment." Within a few weeks, "because spectators usually foregather in the same places week by week—each compartment would become a social entity, common to the regular supporters, their families, friends and associates." Stadium managers too found the development of community relations an effective mechanism for crowd

[52] Note from "OSCAR", *Arsenal Football Club Programme,* 1 April 1950. In *The End*, 74-75.

control, especially the relationships between stewards and their surrounding spectators.[53] Along with the penning of fans, stewards could monitor spectator mobility and positioning while attempting through friendly interaction to maintain harmony between all groups. Clubs also wanted to use spectators' congenial associations with fans to restore football's wholesome image in light of the recent outbreaks of violence.

As the bifurcated opposition between spectators and authorities became clearly defined, stewards became perceived as agents of the police and were disrespected by spectators. While football violence increased, police co-opted stewards to help identify culprits within a crowd. Early on, police refrained from ejecting spectators, allowing stewards to choose the most disruptive elements of a crowd for eviction.[54] Stewards were also expected to keep an eye on known 'troublemakers', prevent crowding in police gangways, and offer the police assistance in a supervisory role.[55] Their role as eye-witnesses and in identification could be valuable to police who were often involved in other tasks. Spectators despised stewards who aided the police in making arrests. Many stewards were drawn from the same spectators' clubs which lobbed sneering and scornful criticism at 'hooligans' and 'thugs', and therefore easily transitioned into a role that policed 'proper' spectator conduct and behavior. Yet many stewards disliked the liability of policing the crowd. Supporters' clubs in Scotland only reluctantly accepted the idea

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[53] A. Leese, Chief Fire Officer, Coventry, "Public Risks at Sports Grounds," *The Municipal and Public Services Journal*, 19 January 1968. Collected by the Home Office in PRO HO 300/83.

[54] Notes of Meeting with Representatives of the Football Interests at the Home Office, 13 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

[55] Operational Order, Superintendent, Metropolitan Police Office, A8 Branch, 12 September 1968. In PRO MEPO 2/11286, file 2A.

because, "stewards receive little, if any, respect."[56] Scottish police officials also doubted that their new authority would be respected, and argued that spectators would only reluctantly accept stewards' direction with greater training and over time.[57] Stadium stewards, like those on trains, came to be resented as they adopted powers that aided police in conflict with spectators. They became a key element in the development of tactics and strategies police advocated against football disruptions and football violence.

As other tactical mechanisms developed, police and club authorities also considered how to conduct interventions into spectators' activities. Police initially adopted a very defensive and reluctant stance toward intervention: precedents drawn from the first postwar decades stipulated that police generally maintained order through service-oriented supervision. In essence, early police orders allowed police employed by clubs to keep stairways clear, prevent unauthorized entry, and comply with club officials' requests.[58] Most often, these interventions took the form of immediate removal from stadium grounds. However, police officials quickly wanted to expand police powers of arrest and detention during crowd disturbances, especially when urged by the Home Office and members of Parliament. In late 1969 police department legal officials promoted more arrests rather than ejections, noting that charging the offender provided immediate intervention and prolonged detention. "The most effective way of combating

[56] Wheatley commission, Note of a Meeting with Representatives of the Federation of Scottish Football Supporters' Clubs, Edinburgh, 9 September 1971. In PRO HO 287/1631, file 16.

[57] W.A. Ratcliffe, Assistant Chief Constable, Glasgow, Memorandum on Policing of Football Grounds in Scotland, Appendix C to the Winterbottom Report. In PRO HLG 120/1618.

[58] Operational order, Superintendent, Metropolitan Police Office, A8 Branch, 12 September 1968. In PRO MEPO 2/11286.

hooliganism was quick, effective justice," noted J.F. Claxton, Director of Public Prosecutions. He added that, "if it became known that a hooligan was likely to be taken into custody as soon as an offence had been committed this, he would have thought, would act as a strong deterrent." So too would the conference's recommendation to detain offenders through the weekend until they could be arraigned at magistrates' courts on Monday morning. Most importantly, "the person would in any event be likely to be prevented or at least deterred from committing further acts of hooliganism."[59] Ejections merely removed the potential for disorder from within the stadium to outside it. Arresting fans eliminated both dangers and increased the perceptions of police authority.

The Home Office also discussed powers of arrest at length, including the possibility of arrests *en masse* when proper identification of criminal subjects could not be obtained. In 1969, Chancellor of the Exchequer Roy Jenkins, urged, "that the solution is to arrest all the hooligans apparently concerned (without identifying the actual individuals responsible for the actual damage) for causing an affray or some similar offence. This will pose problems for the police, but the Home Secretary [James Callaghan] feels that public opinion would be behind them."[60] Home Office officials told Claxton that such collective arrests would be particularly useful in the football setting and

[59] Extract from the Minutes of 101st Central Conference of Chief Constables held on 6 November 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[60] D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office to J.F. Claxton, Department of the Director of Public Prosecutions, 26 September 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

in incidents of railcar damage.[61] Both the Director of Public Prosecutions and Her Majesty's Inspector of Crime, two nationally authoritative police officials, warned that such arrests would produce civil rights violations and the possibility of negative legal recourse.[62] Yet, in the case of more serious weapons charges or police assaults, the Director's office recommended arresting as many subjects as possible, noting that, "I have little doubt that Magistrates, in the present climate of opinion, would deal severely with those [cases]."[63] The Home Office consistently urged police authorities to extend their powers of arrest, use the most generally adaptive police charges, and detain arrestees for long periods in order to maintain their tough stance against law-and-order transgressions. Such instructions paid attention to violations of civil law only inasmuch as they reflected poorly on the Home Office and the police's public relations.

Local police stations also asked central authorities in London for permission to conduct group arrests, regardless of evidence or other justification. The Chief Constable at Liverpool wrote to the A.C.P.O.: "It has been proved that the law is inadequate to deal with a situation where a large group of hooligans are on the rampage."[64] In a brief prepared for Scotland Yard and other police authorities, district officials issued their complaints: "Many serious offences such as theft and robbery are carried out under the

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[61] D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office to J.F. Claxton, Department of the Director of Public Prosecutions, 24 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[62] Letter from F2 Division to D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office, 4 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[63] J.F. Claxton, Department of the Directory of Public Prosecutions to D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office, 20 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[64] Chief Constable, Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary to F.W.C. Pennington, General Secretary, Association of Chief Police Officers, 8 September 1972. In PRO HO 287/2051.

protection of the group and it is difficult to mount a successful prosecution against the individual concerned because of the lack of direct evidence." They listed several concrete examples where magistrates either dismissed the case or discharged offenders with a reduced fine. "This brings to light the difficulties which the police have in dealing with gangs," they concluded. "When viewed in the cool atmosphere of a court of law, [it] takes on a different complexion."[65] Looking to sidestep due process, police consistently begged for a more expedient legal or legislative apparatus by which to arrest and convict spectators in groups.

Arrests, as opposed to ejections, also provided evidence of successful police crackdowns on deviant behavior and became a display of potential consequences for rowdy spectators. The Home Office feared that low arrests numbers reflected poorly on their ability to control crowds at matches. Home Office representatives concluded: "If there had been violence at a particular match and police activity to curb it, it looked odd if the next day only a very small number of people were charged because the police had concentrated on ejecting rather than arresting."[66] The police simply could not arrest everyone who caused problems at matches. While ejection afforded a quick and easy solution for immediate predicaments, arrests addressed the larger political concerns about apparently incorrigible football disorder on a national level. Arrests could be recorded, while ejections usually went without note, allowing the Home Office to calculate the

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[65] Liverpool and Bootle Constabulary, Brief on Football Hooliganism and Associated Violent Behavior, 8 September 1972. In PRO HO 287/2051.

[66] Notes of a Meeting with Representatives of Football Interests at the Home Office, 13 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

statistical incidence of violence and disorder.[67] The Home Office wanted the number of arrests to be representative of the levels of violence when asked to report to the public or the House of Commons.

Increasing the number of arrests at matches exhausted police resources and presented other unanticipated problems. One supervising officer noted that, "Several arrests were made but, unfortunately, each arrest invariably meant that a police officer left the pitch and as [such] this process was a severe drain on police strength."[68] A Glasgow officer commented that, 'if 150 arrests are made, no police are left to deal with further disorder."[69] Officers involved in arrests also could not simultaneously quell other disturbances. While the addition of police dogs helped, at many grounds sergeants also began deploying constables in patrols of ten, with a supervisor and detective assigned to each group.[70] Arrests could then be made without significantly depleting the practical capacity of the police or their carefully presented visual authority. One police briefing indicated that officers took their encounters with fans to be representative of their ability to deal with direct conflict: "If incidents occur it is important that only sufficient officers

[67] In nearly all the police reports sent to the Home Office, final numbers for arrests were given. Ejections were only sometimes noted, and arrest records rarely included. In a few cases, police felt compelled to defend their low arrest numbers to the Home Office. One supervising officer wrote, "The small number of arrests was not due to inactivity by police but rather that incidents simply do not arise when police are present." Assistant Chief Constable of Operations, Hampshire Constabulary, Report on Southampton F.C. vs. Manchester United F.C., 21 March 1977. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[68] Northumberland Constabulary report on incidents at St. James Park, 12 March 1974. In PRO AT 25/246.

[69] City of Glasgow Police submission to Harrington commission, 1 November 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[70] Police Operational Order, Notts. County vs. Manchester United, 25 March 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

as are necessary move to deal with the incident and not the whole serial otherwise we are quickly faced with a deteriorating situation."[71] The Home Office's request for greater arrest numbers at matches where violence commenced thus lead to tactical changes in police intervention and arrests.

Police also developed the controversial tactic of detention to alleviate the lengthy burden of formalizing arrests. Instead of finalizing the process of an arrest, which could remove an officer from duty for the balance of a match, police began asking clubs for detention facilities to be installed on the premises. State officials and police officials concurred that such facilities would be critical in facilitating arrests.[72] Some local police forces also employed vans which could detain more spectators during exceptionally contentious matches.[73] Frank Williamson, Her Majesty's Inspector of Crime and consultant to the Home Office, suggested that detention rooms be used to facilitate arrests, but was, "emphatic about the value of arresting and charging rather than merely attempting to detain." Home Office officials quickly noted, though, that police had no official power to detain without making an immediate arrest.[74] Here again, police officials sought loopholes in police processes and the legal infrastructure in efforts to create effective tactics which served their immediate interests.

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[71] Briefing by Supervisory Officer, Notts. County vs. Manchester United, 25 March 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[72] For example, see the Harrington Report, 32-33 and suggestions from constables in HLG 120/1465.

[73] Such was the case in Leeds: see Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Leeds United, 25 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

[74] Williamson's position noted in J.H. Waddell, Home Office to Secretary of State, 12 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/2052.

Like the development of other police strategies, balancing arrests and ejections developed out of state officials' desires to display their authority and competency in a law-and-order context. State-initiated police activities aimed at representing the weight of their significant social power, backed through the use of force and menacing violence. Police practices accelerated tensions amongst spectators and between fans and police, provoking opposition by ignoring older, service-oriented tactics. When community relations between police, stewards, and spectators were recognized, police and clubs exploited them in effort to identify potential offenders. In each tactic, the display of social power and the representation of authority became important components. Police and state officials expressed little concern for the civil rights or physical safety of spectators, and violated them both on a consistent basis. In sum, state-mediated police responses to increased football violence ensured an antagonistic, confrontational, and threatening environment in the terraces.

Police Brutality and the State

Police brutality became another component of the materialization of aggressive and oppositional relations between football spectators and police. Local police and government ministers had facilitated the development and dissemination of increasingly dangerous police tactics. In practice, these strategies could eventuate in severe bodily injury to spectators. In many situations, police constables adopted an antagonistic stance towards spectators, replacing erstwhile approaches based on service and protection.

While these new attitudes could become aggressive, they also often led to officers' refusal to engage with spectators at all. Overall, negotiation for control of new social spaces between the two groups resulted in the creation of vindictive police actions.

Many of the complaints issued against officers noted their apathy towards citizen protection and their unwillingness to help any spectator, regardless of their conduct or stature. After being attacked in the streets outside the stadium, two members of the Middlesbrough F.C. Supporters' Club asked for police protection until they entered the stadium. One sergeant replied, "You don't demand anything here," and then ignored both men. The two men were later attacked again by fans supporting the other team.[75] Some stewards criticized police for being, "unwilling to get amongst the trouble makers and sort them out."[76] In a number of cases, police expressed their disdain for spectators by failing to prevent violence on the ground level. Refusal to protect citizens and prevent aggression exacerbated hostile police and spectator interaction and led to outright police negligence. In one atypical case, police refused to grant an escort to coaches bringing spectators to a match. The bus came under attack by a group of fans on the street, and a brick was thrown through a window, striking a fourteen-year old boy in the face, causing severe damage to his cheek and eye. In the official police report, both the driver and the

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[75] Greater Manchester Police, Statement of Witness, 15 April 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[76] Greater Manchester Police, Statement of Witness, 21 April 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

trip organizer complained that such injury could have been avoided but police refused to shield them from attacks.[77]

More commonly, however, spectators complained about severe brutality when police did engage with spectators. One exceptional case revealed in detail the oppositional relations generated by the excessive use of police force. Several young women from Leeds protested against their particularly harsh treatment one Saturday afternoon, and placed their experiences within a larger framework of repeated and publicly accepted police brutality against football spectators. While waiting in line to enter the premises, "they tried to crush us with their horses and came at us with Police dogs. If you didn't get out of the way you got hit, whether you were a lad or a lass we were all treated the same." They continued by recalling other acts of brutality against their companions: "In the ground we saw 3 Policemen dragging a Leeds fan out by his hair, they threw him over a barrier and onto a spiked fence ripping his shirt to shreds. Before you start thinking he deserved it, he didn't." Other pieces of the statement complained about unwarranted arrests and police negligence. They concluded: "It is always said that hooligans cause trouble but this proves that Police will pick on anybody even if they don't do anything."[78]

In separate letters, the women also complained about tactics intended to cause panic among spectators. After having her foot trampled by a police surge using mounted

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[77] Greater Manchester Police, Statement of Witness, 3 May 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[78] Heidi Gleissner, Susan Isherwood, Carole Parkhouse, Linda Crosby, and Violet Wright to Denis Howell, 3 September 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

horses, one woman reported, "I do not consider it a responsible thing to do, to ride horses at crowds and cause this kind of panic. There were small children queuing with us who could easily have been knocked to the floor and trampled." Later, while she was pushed against a barrier outside the stadium queuing for entry, a policeman kicked her in the shin because she could not move forward.[79] A mounted police officer told one of the women that he, "would like to see the whole lot of you get done," hinting that police used horses not only to induce fear but potentially for physical aggression against spectators.[80] In each case spectators resented police provoking anxiety and terror amongst crowds, noting that police practices caused more disorder rather than maintaining order. In the ensuing Yorkshire police investigation into accusations of brutality, one mounted police constable admitted, "In crowds, such as which was present that day…it is inevitable that at sometime, someone is bound to be trod on. It is a hazard over which, in scenes like this, the rider of the horse has little or no control."[81] Nor could they control police dogs, which occasionally bit spectators.[82] Much like physical space divisions, attempts to control crowd behavior and prevent violence actually created an increasingly hostile and violent environment where opposition and mutually-reinforced antagonisms became clearly defined.

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[79] Carole Parkhouse to Chief Superintendent Tunnicliffe, South Yorkshire Police, 27 October 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[80] South Yorkshire Police Investigation into Complaint, Chief Superintendent Tunnicliffe to Deputy Chief Constable, 25 November 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[81] South Yorkshire Police Investigation into Complaint, Inspector Phillips to Chief Superintendent Isherwood, 19 December 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[82] For police reports recalling dog bite victims see the following example of a match in Manchester: Greater Manchester Police reports, 28 March 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053.

Police brutality also treated spectators as a homogenous group, failing to differentiate between fans engaged in violent activities and those trying to avoid participation in them. Reifying spectators as a single, inherently violent assembly engendered violent attitudes towards the entire crowd. One fan remembered fearing the entrance of police into the terraces: “They’d just get in there and whack people…If it was persistent they’d go in there and break it up by matching aggression with aggression really. That was like an unwritten law up there.”[83] Such statements indicated that unwarranted and indiscriminate police violence proved consistent in some grounds, especially when young spectators were targeted. “The police just come pushing through the crowd and on many occasions punching their way through, grabbing youngsters for nothing,” wrote one fan. He declared, “Don’t treat us as the thugs from behind the goal, treat us as supporters.”[84] Clearly, many spectators did not want to be typically recognized as part of the social problem, but as social subjects deserving of the basic social services of police. Further, treating them as a homogenous mass of vicious subjects denied their very calculated and passionate club loyalties. Such aggressive attitudes failed to enhance police authority and instead produced increased hostilities among all parties involved.

Unsurprisingly, the government defended excessive police force as warranted by the perceived violence of the fans and the gravity of this ongoing social disturbance. Desperate to seem stringent against increased football violence, politicians’ discourse on

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[83] Laird Budge, Arsenal fan, in *The End*, 159.

[84] A. Green, *Arsenal Football Club Programme*, 12 April 1969. In *The End*, 105.

police violence reinforced the authority of the police by whatever means necessary. Couched within carefully calculated speech, parliamentarians blamed spectators for the creation of a violent environment where police could only be expected to react in kind. In 1969, during a discussion of policing football in Swansea, Eldon Griffiths, future Conservative minister for Environment and Sport asked, "Why is it that when demonstrators attack the police it is described as crowd violence but when the police use necessary force in the enforcement of the law it is described as police brutality?" Labour Home Secretary James Callaghan responded: "Vandalism is vandalism, whoever indulges in it. Violence is violence, by whoever it is practiced…My experience shows that the police are extremely self-controlled in the manner in which they respond to a great deal of provocation." Though tempered, Callaghan's comments implicitly defended police actions. He added later, "That is not to say that the occasional policeman does not lose his temper. He would be less than human if he did not."[85] State officials disregarded serious claims for police brutality in the football environment, tacitly ignoring the role of police in escalating hostilities.

Nearly five years later, Denis Howell continued to preserve the public image of police officers under the Labour administration. His comments consistently emphasized police tolerance, avoiding direct discussion about police brutality while tacitly endorsing their forceful authority. In the wake of a series of spectator complaints about brutality, Howell addressed Parliament:

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[85] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 791 (20 November 1969), vol. 1486.

> I am able to assess the situation and talk to the police officers after the game. This nation has good cause to be thankful for its police force. When I go abroad and see how the police forces elsewhere deal with these troubles I realize that the self-discipline and tolerance of the British policeman is unmatched anywhere in the world. Some of our worst offenders have good cause to thank the tolerance of the British policeman, even though it is running a bit short these days, and they might stop to consider that aspect of the matter.[86]

Howell defused the complaints on a national level by focusing the conversation on the benefits of police intervention and championing their leniency and forbearance. While he implicitly acknowledged that occasionally constables applied excessive force, he simultaneously inferred spectators' culpability. Notably, Howell emphasized the police's self-discipline, a quality which he elsewhere praised frequently and denigrated spectators for lacking. Ignoring criticisms of police behavior allowed the government to continue to use strong police tactics against spectators in the public battle over football violence.

Like divisions of physical space discussed in the previous chapter, the rising frequency of police brutality and indiscriminate police aggression further alienated football spectators from the football environment. The development of new tactics and strategies created more opportunities for exceptionally violent police conduct, as constables searched for the means to control constantly changing social spaces. Government sports ministers strongly supported the police's position as defenders of order and discipline in a chaotic social environment, yet they frequently contributed to and escalated aggression and antagonisms. Throughout, incidents of violent conduct between police and spectators, generated by both parties, became practical battles over social control on the ground level.

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[86] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 893 (19 June 1975), vol. 1790.

The Development of Verbal Networks, Police Identification and CCTV

Previous sociological investigations provide essential understandings of police conduct, but neglect to understand that police strategies developed over time and were contingent upon immediate circumstances and police and spectator experiences in individual grounds. Gary Armstrong, the most prominent ethnographer on football policing, has focused much of his work on undercover police investigations and CCTV from the mid-1980s onward. Armstrong and Dick Hobbs have done well to elevate concern for violations of privacy and the unwarranted surveillance of spectators.[87] My research adds to others' work by revealing the historical contextualization of these tactics, the role of the Home Office in their development, and the contingency of their origins in the late 1960s and 1970s. Rather than assuming the perfection of power and panoptical surveillance manifest in recent CCTV advancements, we must recognize that spectators' adversion to surveillance and technological setbacks shaped the evolution of power relations in football policing. The evidence presented here builds on recent scholarship which questioned the exactness of power manifest in video surveillance by revealing impediments to surveillance and identification processes in one of the earliest experimental sites for this equipment.[88]

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[87] Gary Armstrong, *Football Hooligans*; Gary Armstrong and Dick Hobbs, "Tackled From Behind," and "High Tackles and Professional Fouls."

[88] See the essays in David Lyon, ed., *Theorizing Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond* (Portland: Willan, 2006); Clive Norris and Gary Armstrong, *The Maximum Surveillance Society: The Rise of CCTV* (New York: Berg, 1999). For original conceptualizations of the Panopticon, see Foucault's interpretation of Jeremy Bentham's prison in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1977).

Though CCTV would later be championed as a key element in the crackdown on football violence during the late 1980s, it became only the most recognized outcome of a series of trial practices that sought to increase individual attention on individual crowd members. Processes of criminal identification and the institution of closed-circuit television, like other police tactics, incurred serious setbacks and developed over time. As police constables attempted to utilize new resources in the struggle against football violence, they tried to establish networks of communication and detection through both verbal and visual means. Such strategies converged with other tactical developments in the control of physical space and increased the ability of police to monitor spectators' behavior. Most markedly, police responded to government calls for greater identification of 'troublemakers' and their eventual punishment by developing verbal networks of communication using radios and telephones. Constables needed to pass information over vast spaces which they attempted to control, including along railways, within city centers, inside stadiums, and around bus and train stations. Several local police patrols and clubs also experimented with spectator blacklists and identification dossiers, and even explored the possibility of identification cards for all spectators, intended to profile the most frequent instigators and extremely violent spectators. In sum, the demand for individual detection, arrests, and punishment led to the gradual development of invasive police practices which proved only mildly successful.

As soon as police confronted greater challenges policing football spectators in and around stadiums, they attempted to develop verbal networks of communication to facilitate contact between officers, the club, and rail authorities. Such contact aimed at

reducing the levels of football violence and criminal interests outside stadiums by delivering information about spectators' activities over vast spaces. These systems developed on the fly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and became the foundation for recent attempts at centralized intelligence and communication in football grounds. Initially discussing "intelligence arrangements," Home Office officials and chief constables wanted to ensure that the most fruitful information came into the hands of as many police officers and railway managers as possible.[89] Such information notified police where to station officers and where to deploy help if necessary.

As in other areas of football policing, government ministers took a strong interest in the installation of radio services. Both the Harrington and Lang commissions insisted on the necessity of such communication resources for better police work. Home Office administrator D.J. Trevelyan, a key figure in handling the Home Office's facilitation of football policing, and Frank Williamson, the H.M.I. for Crime, invited police constables from around the country to discuss intelligence arrangements and information networking. Radio coverage and the technical quality of radio technology greatly troubled the Home Office. Constables at the conference reported that clubs initially cooperated with government requests for police radio antennae to be established at stadiums to better assist police in establishing functioning networks.[90] Williamson also visited several clubs to obtain a working knowledge of local intelligence arrangements.

[89] For example, see Home Office Circular, "Hooliganism by Football Supporters," 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[90] Note of a Meeting on Soccer Hooliganism, held at Home Office, 2 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500, file 11.

The Chief Constable of Staffordshire and Stoke invited Williamson to show him the capabilities of radio networking. "Wireless communication with personnel is also adequate and a sergeant is appointed to take charge of the radio control," noted Williamson, who added that the club and police officers enjoyed excellent communication about potential disturbances.[91] In the late 1960s, as a first order of business in the struggle with football violence, government officials ensured that local police stations installed effective verbal communication networks to facilitate information sharing among the policing bodies.

Radio communication generally proved successful, allowing police and clubs to share information about events in disparate parts of the football environment. Metropolitan Police superintendent Commander Mitchell reported to the Home Office that, "The general availability of personal radios has been of extreme benefit in enabling senior officers in control to be kept informed of conditions and to institute early remedial action."[92] Mitchell also reported that thirty-seven of the forty biggest clubs used radio communication to aid in police facilitation and crowd control. Such communications better assisted direct intervention by police and helped to distribute police resources according to need.

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[91] Frank Williamson, Her Majesty's Inspector of Crime, to D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office, 17 October 1969. PRO HO 287/1500.

[92] Commander H. Mitchell, Metropolitan Police, Appendix B to Winterbottom Report, 27 May 1971. In PRO HLG 120/1618.

In Coventry, community members also used telephone hotlines, mimicking police forces' establishment of means of communication to avoid problems with football spectators. This exceptional case revealed that other members of the community infrequently contributed to developing verbal networks. In 1975, local storeowners and citizens formed an association which rotated public 'spotters', who advised local shopkeepers of oncoming rushes of spectators. This early warning system enabled stores to lock up and avoid theft and damage, including keeping customers in the shops until trouble passed. The Coventry Chamber of Commerce stated, "We are certain that customers won't mind being locked inside the stores should any trouble arise. After all it will be in their own interests as well as ours."[93] While in the main police and clubs paid for and experimented with radio networks, in specific cases community members also benefited from introducing verbal systems.

Several grounds experienced problems implementing the systems, providing further evidence that such networks, though strongly encouraged by Home Office directors, could only be established partially in some areas. As late as the mid-1970s, high costs and police frugality prevented every officer from having a personal radio at most grounds. In some cases, only a small percentage of constables used the sets, and police used loud hailers to transfer information across city blocks and between sectioned terraces.[94] Winterbottom's investigative crew found that, "In some instances the site of

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[93] "City's Early Warning to Beat the 'Hoolies'," *Birmingham Evening Mail*, 5 September 1975.

[94] Operational Order, Notts County vs. Manchester United, 25 March 1975. In PRO HO 287/2053. The order notes that only ten radios were used by supervisors of several hundred police.

the ground tends to interfere with reception from divisional channels." They recommended police try short-circuit transmitters instead.[95] At one match in Luton, police experienced severe technological difficulties which hindered their ability to monitor the entire area. "Problems in Police control were experienced after the Match because of the break-down of the special personal radio network," noted the supervising officer. "Considerable difficulty was experienced in contacting supervising officers in an effort to move men quickly to trouble spots and to obtain situation reports. This was partly due to a break-down in the sets or batteries themselves and partly due to the noise and violence in which the Officers were working which prevented them hearing their radios clearly."[96] Such problems meant that local organizers needed to adapt their systems to the physical terrain, and only through experimentation and negotiation did effective verbal systems of communication develop in and around football stadiums.

In addition to piecemeal development of verbal networking, government and police officials also considered several police tactics aimed at fostering better identification of individual spectators targeted for arrest. Without a significant precedent, local police stations could endeavor to develop such systems with little legal interference, and often with great encouragement from their superordinates at the Home Office. In fact, the development of verbal networks preceded other identification tactics which facilitated improved individual detection and led to more arrests and convictions. Communication networks expanded from radio-based contact to pre-match consultations

[95] The Winterbottom Report, p. 22. In PRO HLG 120/1618.

[96] Bedfordshire Police report, Luton vs. Chelsea, 3 September 1975. In PRO HO 287/1630.

between clubs and police from different areas of the UK. Police officials shared information about known violent offenders and instigators, including photographic profiles, which allowed organizers to prepare for key matches and oncoming hordes of traveling fans. At several junctures, the Home Office facilitated these meetings and conversations. In 1970, the Home Office, football representatives, and the highest police authorities in London concurred that, "Identification of troublemakers, either individually if possible, or as groups, was of crucial importance. The clubs and their servants often had information which was very valuable and liaison with the police should be as close as possible."[97] The number of pre-arranged cooperative meetings increased as government officials nurtured the improvement of interaction and consultation not only between clubs and police in individual cities, but between them as well.

The idea of sending known police officers with away fans not only provided an example of recognized authority for traveling spectators, but also allowed police from different cities to share information on disorderly supporters. In 1969, Frank Williamson revealed that the Metropolitan Police had recently instituted the practice of sending constables familiar with groups of rowdy fans to away matches. The traveling police could watch over any given group, but more importantly, inform local supervisors of particularly troublesome individuals and any other relevant information. Williamson recommended to other district supervisors that they adopt the practice. Assistant Chief Constable P.D. Knights of Birmingham responded that, "this had been done at one stage

[97] Notes of a Meeting at the Home Office, 13 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

though there were difficulties about sending policemen outside a force's area." Presumably, jurisdictional red tape prevented a seamless process of arrest and conviction when officers operated outside their district. Nonetheless, the constables agreed to use the practice in special situations and during high-risk matches.[98] At a subsequent meeting, Home Office officials also discussed the problem of identifying those responsible for damage on train cars. In similar fashion, they recommended posting police familiar with groups of spectators at rail stations during train boardings, stops, and departures.[99] Such tactics aimed not only to actually identify culprits and prosecute illegal activities, but also used the perceived threat of identification to deter misconduct. These practices were built upon pre-established information collected by local police officers and passed between constables within stations, indicating their advocacy of informal profiling measures.

The use of photography, largely unregulated and legally unjustified, was also advocated to foster better individual identification and personal conviction. Like other police ideas, it also faced problems of implementation. In Coventry, police immediately photographed offenders with the arresting officer, ejected them, and avoided the problem of time-consuming arrests. Using the photos of offenders and their arresting officers, constables could pursue individual convictions on their own timetable.[100] Photographic

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[98] Note of a Meeting between police representatives and Home Office officials, 2 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[99] Note of a Meeting on Hooliganism by Football Supporters, 2 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[100] See Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Chelsea, 28 March 1974. In PRO AT 60/39.

profiles proved only mildly successful at London-based Queens Park F.C. Commander Jackomann complained that, "identification of hooligans was made extremely difficult by the very limited provision of photographic equipment in London police stations. It was only possible to photograph convicted offenders," as well. Indeed, photographic equipment could be expensive and troublesome. Further, new perpetrators could not be photographed without a prior conviction. In many areas, police reported that they rarely arrested the same offender twice in a single season, rendering photography only marginally practical.[101] Without informally ignoring police regulations, photography only proved successful in a limited number of cases.

By the mid-1970s, several police stations kept full photographic dossiers of notorious spectators in their areas, and willingly shared the information with other police districts. I have found evidence that police photographed and profiled offenders in at least six different locales—including Coventry, Manchester, Middlesbrough, Newcastle, Scotland Yard in London and Stoke—and that the Home Office encouraged and practically facilitated this practice.[102] At Scotland Yard offices they began to build photographic profiles of the most serious offenders, which were destroyed if the arrests did not lead to a court conviction.[103] "Close liaison was maintained with other Police

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[101] Police officers reported that though they often knew of the worst offenders, they didn't always arrest them all over the course of a season. See above citation on visit to Chelsea.

[102] In addition to the citations below see files on Working Party visits to Middlesbrough, Newcastle and Coventry in PRO HO 300/112 for evidence of the use of photography in these areas.

[103] *Daily Telegraph*, 28 October 1975. Scotland Yard could only photograph arrestees if they convicted a crime which necessitated fingerprinting in the first place.

Forces," reported Stoke City police officials, "and an exchange of photographs and other intelligence took place." Howell's Working Party investigators thoroughly approved.[104] At Manchester United's Old Trafford ground, notorious for spectator misbehavior, local police adhered to similar practices. In a 1976 meeting with Home Secretary Merlyn Rees, supervisors reported, "Known trouble makers were barred when recognized: the force had a photograph library of the worst offenders with which officers could familiarize themselves."[105] The implementation of photography allowed officers to maintain regulation of football spectators across district boundaries. It also facilitated the early development of profiling culprits, maintaining informal visual records of the most serious offenders at the largest clubs in England. These dossiers prefigured later developments in football intelligence collection and undercover policing from the mid-1980s forward, including the creation of the National Football Intelligence Unit.[106]

Government and police officials also considered formalizing identification profiles in the form of identification cards, though the idea never materialized due to several setbacks. It is well known that Margaret Thatcher strongly advocated a nationally-organized ID card scheme in the late 1980s, but was rebuffed by the Taylor

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[104] Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Stoke City, 25 July 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

[105] Note of a Meeting at Greater Manchester Police Headquarters with Home Secretary Merlyn Rees, 30 October 1976. In PRO HO 287/2056.

[106] See Gary Armstrong and Dick Hobbs, "Tackled From Behind," and "High Tackles and Professional Fouls."

inquiry.[107] Less well known, however, is the fact that Denis Howell and the Department of the Environment sought to implement multiple identification schemes in the mid-1970s. Encouraged by the successful implementation of ID schemes at local clubs and in supporters' organizations, Howell explored the possibility of coordinated schemes which would help to exclude disorderly spectators. Like other police tactics, the ID card scheme met with both fervent approval and negotiated resistance by various social bodies.

Many segments of the public found the proposal for a nationally-organized scheme to be the solution to the problem. Howell received several letters from members of the public begging for the scheme to be implemented, especially after he leaked the idea to the press.[108] Several architectural firms submitted formal proposals for nationally-coordinated schemes that drew on the latest computer technology available.[109] Howell balked initially, but asked the Football League to investigate the feasibility of such a scheme on a national level, and approved of an identity card trial scheme for young fans at Coventry City.[110] Clubs in Cardiff, Blackburn, and Everton also

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[107] For a nice summary of this process, in the context of the addition of seated stadiums, see Anthony King, *The End of the Terraces: The Transformation of English Football in the 1990s* (London: Leicester University Press, 1998). See also Rogan Taylor, *Football and Its Fans: Supporters and Their Relations with the Game, 1885-1985* (London: Leicester University Press, 1992).

[108] See, for example, letter from Ned Boulting to Denis Howell, 21 August 1974. In PRO HO 300/114.

[109] See Proposal for Identicard System, McCrudden, Newton and Partners Systems Consultants, sent to Home Office, 4 September 1974. In PRO HO 300/114; See also Shop and Commerce Limited to Denis Howell, 11 May 1974. In PRO AT 60/12.

[110] See Background Note on Identity Card Schemes, Department of the Environment, undated (1974). In PRO HO 300/114, file 4.

implemented similar trials on a short-term basis, and mostly for away matches.[111] British Rail also considered them for all traveling passengers at several points in the development of their pricing and crowd control policies.[112]

The fundamental support for identity cards, though, came from football supporters' groups, who often implemented their own schemes. The National Union of Football Supporters, an offshoot of the larger National Federation of Football Supporters, attempted to convince Howell to employ them on a national level. Their chairman, A. Johnson, berated Howell:

> The solution to all these problems is photo-type identity cards, and you know it…Yet this scheme is not introduced, we feel, because these people would rather let spectators get hurt for the next month or two, than bow to public demand, which would not satisfy their own egotism…Identity cards would solve all aspects of hooliganism throughout the world, and for all four divisions of the football league, with no club in a position to offer lack of finance, or shortage of materials as an excuse for non-compliance…Your only chance is by way of being subtle, for these hooligans have no mind of their own, and intelligence would baffle them. Give them an identity card and let them figure that one out.[113]

Such statements drew on well-established distinctions based on the denigration of working-class men and youths. Johnson also implied that the technological element of ID card scanning would inhibit disorderly working-class supporters from attending the matches, due to their alleged lack of competency. Supporters' clubs added a new

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[111] Everton, in particular, developed a complicated "Travel Club" scheme for European matches in 1975. See letter from Everton Football Club to R.D. Compton, Department of the Environment, 28 July 1975. In PRO AT 60/39, file 2.

[112] See, for example, Notes by D.V. Ellison, Chief Passenger Marketing Manager for British Rail, Meeting with Denis Howell, 10 September 1974. In PRO AN 156/469.

[113] A. Johnson, National Union of Football Supporters, to Denis Howell, 6 August 1974. In PRO AT 25/247.

dimension to the identity card scheme as well: not only could they be used to threaten the privilege of admission, they also served to further distinguish between 'respectable' fans and 'hooligans'. As one of Howell's constituents wrote to him, "this might help to sort the chaff from the wheat."[114]

In the end, Howell wavered on a nationally-organized scheme, though, because he anticipated it might prove to be politically infeasible. Howell used the *idea* of the scheme to seem tough on football violence, but it never materialized. In addition to lacking the necessary funds, he also received several warnings about foreseeable problems with these systems. Most significantly, clubs became concerned that identity cards would reduce "through-the-gate" traffic and therefore decrease revenue. In 1989, this became a major stumbling block in their consideration as well. Rejecting admission based on identification also led to policing problems similar to those raised by ejections: fans outside stadiums caused more problems than when enclosed in controlled environments. In consultation with Howell's Working Party, Stoke officials, "unanimously agreed that such a system was impracticable. It was considered that the need to refuse entry to non-card holders would create an impossible situation for Police, Stewards and Turnstile Operators."[115] Department of the Environment and Home Office bureaucrats also considered, "whether the issue of these cards affects the liberty of the subject." After consultation from other legal authorities in the British government, they concluded that

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[114] Mrs. J. McKay to Denis Howell, 2 May 1974. In PRO AT 60/12.

[115] Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Stoke City, 25 July 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

football clubs retained the right to refuse admission to private property at any time.[116] However, it is doubtful, knowing the police and government's previous proclivity for dossier-building, that such a scheme would have been used only to refuse admission. Nonetheless, though Howell enjoyed the public attention which identification card schemes generated, their development beyond the local club level never became a realistic possibility until 1989.

Police also infrequently experimented with closed-circuit television in stadiums in efforts to incorporate a visual element into their networks of communication. CCTV developed from other successful visual surveillance techniques employed by the police in the late 1960s and 1970s. As early as 1967 police districts reported that they experimented with binocular surveillance from raised points above the stadium, where police could observe crowd behavior from a distance.[117] Combined with radio communication, such visual surveillance could better facilitate police interventions into crowds and improve police deployment to various parts of the grounds. At Leeds, they incorporated spotters into a more widespread field of surveillance inside and outside stadiums. "Observation points were available from a special box and from a seat reserved in the Director's Box," they reported. "Spotters equipped with binoculars and personal radios were used."[118] In this system, criminal activity could not only be reported

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[116] Richard Lane to Miss R.J. Cox, Sports Division, Department of the Environment, 13 September 1974. In PRO HO 300/114.

[117] Hampshire Constabulary to the Harrington Commission, 19 October 1967. In PRO HLG 120/1465.

[118] Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Leeds United, 25 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

verbally, but observed and witnessed visually, providing stronger evidence in a court of law. These innovations allowed local police districts to address particular problems and target troublesome areas by expanding their visual surveillance. Police developed these practices on their own, and government ministers never utilized them or passed them on to other clubs.

Government officials, did, however, discuss the implementation of CCTV on several occasions. Throughout the period trials of CCTV proved unsuccessful in several different stadiums as the technology lacked sophistication and failed to function in a new environment. The Harrington Report indicated that, "some reports were received on the use of closed-circuit television, but the indications are that it has not yet been used very successfully in helping to overcome the problem of identification and apprehension." The commission hoped for a better future for the technology: "It is quite possible that its uses have not yet been fully explored and a knowledge that a secret camera is watching spectators could have a deterrent effect on misbehaviour, at least for a time."[119] The Lang commission also mentioned it as a prospective practice to be used in tandem with physical space divisions and better verbal communications.[120] Most authorities wanted improved visual surveillance to deliver the threat of detection and identification, in addition to supporting evidence for convictions. Early Metropolitan Police trials of

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[119] The Harrington Report, 39.

[120] The Lang Report, 9. Lang's group mentioned an individual trial at a West Ham United vs. Manchester United match at Upton Park in East London on 29 March 1969. The results must have been underwhelming, because the report gave no specific details, but concluded that it would be of benefit only in the future.

CCTV in 1968-9 also failed, but provided another intimidating surveillance practice. Commander J.H. Gerrard reported to the Home Office and other leading police executives that, "Closed circuit television had been tried experimentally but so far was not a success. High-powered binoculars, on the other hand, had already led to seven convictions and were having a deterrent effect on those who knew they were under this kind of observation."[121] Though CCTV failed, expanded visual surveillance effected the desired response from spectators.

Howell gave special attention to the possibility of installing CCTV in 1974-5 during the second reading of the Safety at Sports Grounds Act. Interested MPs such as Neil Macfarlane (Conservative, Sutton and Cheam) wanted Howell to consider seriously federal funding for developing visual communication networks into full-scale CCTV systems. Macfarlane noted: "It is something which has not generally been developed in this country and it would remove the problem which the police have at the large grounds in winkling out the troublemakers swiftly." He added that binocular stations worked for commissioners in the metropolitan areas, and that government provision for CCTV could only support the police in deterrence and identification.[122] Howell responded that, "During the period September-December 1974 six experiments were carried out by police in the West Midlands area, but useful results depended on the natural light being adequate…Especially if special equipment were necessary to overcome the problem of

[121] Note of a Meeting between Home Office and police representatives, 2 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[122] *Parliamentary Debates: Commons* vol. 893 (19 June 1975), vol. 1785.

inadequate light, the installation of CCTV would be expensive."[123] Indeed, visibility and clarity proved the greatest obstacles to advocating new systems, whose cost needed to be justified to clubs and local police stations alike. Though Howell and other government officials considered CCTV an effective resource for detection, identification, and police deployment, its high costs and uncertainty about its effectiveness kept the systems out of football stadiums until the mid-1980s.

CCTV only helped decrease football violence inside and outside stadiums after its widespread implementation in the mid-1980s. Aided by the Football Trust, established to help clubs make architectural changes to stadiums, most major football clubs installed CCTV after 1986.[124] Several scholars have argued that CCTV, along with stadium seating, provided the most effective solution to football violence.[125] However, the transition to the contemporary surveilled environment did not occur seamlessly. Rather, other visual surveillance techniques predated CCTV and early systems failed to provide usable visual evidence. Clearly, while the extension of video surveillance became a functional police practice in several different police districts, CCTV could not be transferred into the football stadium with precision. Its early trials reveal that while government officials desired to use technology to improve processes of identification,

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[123] Safety at Sports Grounds Bill, Points Raised During the Debate on Second Reading in the House Of Commons, 19 June 1975, Notes prepared by Denis Howell. In PRO AT 60/37, file 45.

[124] The details of this process are recounted in Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, "From Another Angle: Police Surveillance and Football Supporters," in Clive Norris, Jade Moran and Gary Armstrong, eds., *Surveillance, Closed Circuit Television and Social Control* (London: Ashgate, 1999).

[125] See Part IV of Steve Frosdick and Peter Marsh, *Football Hooliganism* (Portland: Willan), 2005.

deterrence, and visual networks, their efforts were subsumed by simpler forms of visual surveillance that delivered evidence and improved deployment to police on the ground.

Police first tirelessly labored to perfect systems of verbal communication through the use of radios, telephones, and other transmitters. These tools facilitated improved information and intelligence sharing, not only within police districts, but between police liaisons from different parts of Britain. Such practices developed into an informal police network that participated in invasive profiling and identification tactics in effort to facilitate individual convictions. These efforts were largely supported and made possible by coordination from Home Office and Department of Environment officials. Under government supervision, verbal networks and early identification procedures eventually developed into expanded, though still incomplete and piecemeal, visual surveillance practices deplored by recent scholars.

Conclusions

In this chapter I explored the development of police tactics as constables, the government, and spectators negotiated the social settings of football and its policing. Like divisions of physical space, policing tactics developed over time and aimed to present authority through displays of strength, numbers, and intimidation. The development of police tactics helped to define opposition between police and spectators, ignoring existing relationships between the two groups and replacing them with polarized positions within tactical struggles for social power. Increasingly brutal police strategies

created a mutually antagonistic environment where mentalities of opposition and territoriality were encouraged. The government, in support of police, advocated increased police presence and draconian, invasive measures in order to project an image of national security and intolerance to criminal activity. Such practices promised enhanced deterrence and identification, but often failed to deliver. While many of these tactics proved successful, they always faced challenges from spectators, problems of financial restrictions, and issues of practical implementation. In a focused and spatially confined struggle for power, government officials, police, and spectators determined the outcomes and effectiveness of police practices.

The development of police strategies coincided with physical space divisions and sentencing revisions to constitute the government's enactment of tough law-and-order principles against British working-class deviants. However, most police strategies proved counterproductive in the 1970s and 1980s and further exacerbated relations between the state and supporters. Police tactics proved especially disadvantageous when they treated spectators as a homogenous group of violent subjects, arresting or enacting violence against innocent bystanders. The state's propensity to use violence, here through the development of intimidating strategies, again demonstrated their willingness to demonize, discipline and castigate working-class citizens who challenged their authority.

Chapter Five- Stretching Punishment:
The State, Law and Order, and Threatening the Spectator

The previous two chapters examined coordinated police tactics and physical space divisions, emphasizing the state's use of aggressive tactics to prevent football violence. Throughout government discussions, authorities failed to carefully consider social research into the background of football violence, instead opting for increased punishment as its most effective disincentive. In this chapter, evidence will show that the state also explored ways of manipulating the legal system in order to enact extreme punitive measures against rowdy football supporters. In the late 1960s and 1970s, Home Office and Department of Environment officials explored how to maximize legal punishment by pressuring the magistrates' courts, working to change available arrest charges, and exploring new sentencing options. Under pressure from members of Parliament, police authorities, and the public, sports governors attempted to appease calls for swift justice and harsh penalization. As moral anxieties about football violence developed, government officials responded by endorsing law-and-order principles and attempted to deter violence through disproportionate punishment. As this chapter will show, in the mid-1960s government ministers defended the rights of the judicial branch to be independent of legislative meddling. As football violence escalated and became a political embarrassment, government officials carefully inquired into ways of manipulating the process of conviction and sentencing for football spectators. Several government parties explored punitive measures like steeper fines, extended custodial

sentences, juvenile detention, exclusion from matches, and even corporal punishment, which were met with varying levels of success. In doing so, successive governments again focused on cultural expressions of authority and social rectification rather than the debilitating material circumstances which contributed to outbreaks of social unrest. Sports ministers, and the Department of Environment in particular, attempted to institute unacceptable curbs on civil liberties and transgress the boundaries of the legal system.

Ultimately, manipulating the mechanisms of punishment proved counterproductive as changes escalated violence and failed to prevent further working-class adolescent criminality.

Previous academic research into the legal consequences of football violence focused on the period since the 1980s, reflecting the paucity of investigations into the historical development of punishment as football violence emerged.[126] Though a few early studies suggested that football spectators received harsher punishments than other arrestees who commited similar transgressions, the research here reveals how high-level government ministers influenced police discretion on arrests or magistrates' sentencing procedures.[127] Contemporary research focused on how undercover police operations in

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[126] Steve Greenberg and Guy Osborn presented the most comprehensive analysis of post-1985 legal changes, with some attention to earlier formal legislation in football, emphasizing that the political answer was firmer policing and 'panic law', resulting in the removal of alcohol from stadia in 1985 and other ineffective legislation in 1989 and 1991. See Appendix. See also Steve Greenfield and Guy Osborn, *Regulating Football: Commodification, Consumption and the Law* (Sterling, VA: Pluto, 2001).

[127] See Alan Ingham and Michael Smith, "Social Implications of the Interaction Between Spectators and Athletes," *Exercise and Sport Science Reviews* 2 (1974), 189-224; Eugene Trivizas, "Offences and Offenders in Football Crowd Disorders," *British Journal of Criminology* 20:3 (July 1980), 276-88; Trivizas, "Sentencing the Football Hooligan," *British Journal of Criminology* 21:4 (October 1981), 342-9.

the mid-1980s led to the use of excessive charges of conspiracy and affray in a few highly publicized, symbolic trials.[128] However, the evidence analyzed in this chapter illuminates how magistrates and police officials established arrest and sentencing practices replicated across the United Kingdom as football violence continued through the next four decades. Inasmuch as government officials provided outlines for police work and coordinated between different districts across Britain, they also influenced magistrates' decisions both directly and indirectly, as magistrates formed acceptable punishment boundaries to address this emerging phenomenon. Enacting punishment became an important element in the "processual social drama" created by government officials and police authorities who criminalized spectator behavior.[129] Cultural interactions in football were influenced by police and government authorities as they attempted to present the illusion of control by escalating punishment for offending supporters. While physical space divisions and police tactics worked to prevent violence in an immediate sense, sports ministers intended to present magistrates' punitive decisions as authoritative and preventative. Though hearings and court cases received less press attention during this period than in the late 1980s, they still proved important to government officials as displays of authority and the potential consequences of football disorder. As will be shown, authorities and sports ministers wanted to ensure that the

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[128] Gary Armstrong and Dick Hobbs, "Tackled From Behind," in Richard Giulianotti, Norman Bonney and Mike Hepworth eds., *Football, Violence and Social Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[129] Gary Armstrong and Malcolm Young, "Legislators and Interpreters: The Law and 'Football Hooligans," in Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti eds., *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football* (New York: Berg, 1997). On the concept of a "processual social drama" of performance and play, see Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

legal system was seen to punish unruly spectator behavior as it emerged, presenting draconian punishment as necessary to justice and the maintenance of social order.

This chapter first explores problems in the legal process, from arrest to trial, which the state faced in attempting to make certain that spectators faced conviction and heavy sentences. Ministry correspondence, Home Office briefs and Parliamentary debates reveal that government ministers considered several forms of punishment, which will be explored in the second section. The final section will show how the state moved from a policy of non-interference with judicial affairs to pressuring magistrates, deliberating legislation which would change criminal charges against football spectators, and investigating alternative punishments outside the boundaries of British law. In the end, the chapter reveals that Denis Howell and other moral entrepreneurs faced limits to their law-and-order campaigns, as many of their attempts failed to sway magistrates' decisions or transcend the confines of the legal system. Nonetheless, by attempting to enact strict discipline and heavy punishment against those they considered a threat to Britain's moral and social fabric, government officials could assuage fears about lawlessness and anarchy regarding young working-class men disrupting the nation's revered pastime.

Legal Punishment for Transgressive Spectators: Problems and Process

Several weak links existed in the juridical chain when police arrested spectators, attempted to process charges and brought the transgressors to court. First, since nearly all

of the arrests were made on the day of the match, usually on Saturdays, police faced delays in bringing spectators to court. Unless the local station was willing to hold several arrestees until Monday, when the magistrates' court re-opened, they could not always present transgressive spectators before magistrates. Consider police decisions at a Bristol-Cardiff City match in 1974, where groups of partisan fans clashed before the game outside the entryway to the stadium. Local officers, "were able to corner the gang concerned and consequently a much higher percentage of the youths concerned were arrested than was normally the case." Police reported to Denis Howell's Working Party that they detained 137 young Cardiff fans between the ages of twelve and twenty, and processed only twenty arrests. Constables phoned the parents of the others, requesting that they travel to Bristol to collect their children and receive a verbal reprimand from the local police. "It was felt by all concerned that it was essential for parents to be made to understand their responsibility for their children's actions," noted one officer. Parents of fifteen children refused to come, and the officers released them that evening. The twenty arrested spectators created a massive workload for the local police to process before Monday's court opening. "In this instance the police worked all night to ensure that the arrested youths appeared before the magistrates," as soon as possible. Paperwork, interviews and filing formal charges on twenty cases tied up several members of the local police staff for the entire weekend.[130] In addition to problems of workload, police faced a second problem. They did not always prefer to hold arrestees from outside the town overnight, especially juveniles. In this case, police opted to contact parents of the

[130] Working Party on Crowd Behavior, "Report of Visit to Bristol," 22 August 1974. In PRO AT 25/247.

youngest and least serious offenders as an alternative to formal arrest and court sentencing. They created substitute punishments which attempted to shame juveniles and punish parents as well, through the cost of a return trip from Cardiff to Bristol to collect their children.

Third, police could not always procure a quick hearing. If magistrates' schedules proved busy or police resources were lacking, police could face delays in bringing arrestees to trial. The Bristol police worked through the night because, as the report noted, during the summer court cases could be delayed two to three weeks on average. If two weeks elapsed before court hearings could be scheduled, police could not guarantee that offenders would return for the court date. Returning to the local magistrates cost away supporters money and time, and they often failed to appear.[131] Fourth, if much time elapsed between the arrest and the hearing, the arresting officer often declined to bear witness, due to scheduling conflicts or lack of concern. In autumn 1970, shortly after the Conservative administration took office, new Home Secretary Reginald Maudling insisted that police officers give their full cooperation to football clubs who prosecuted offenders, noting that officers needed to appear in court on charges against arrestees to ensure conviction.[132] In addition to difficulties with police resources and administration, problems with court scheduling and testimonies contributed to difficulties convicting spectators arrested at matches.

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[131] Ibid.

[132] Home Secretary Reginald Maudling to Denis Follows, Football Association, 27 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

Facilitating arrests and sentencing also depended on the charges police selected. Police could choose from several ill-defined charges to best suit the nature of spectator transgressions, but preferred minor charges which ensured easy conviction. Until the passing of the Public Order Act of 1986, overlapping legislation allowed for certain behaviors to be charged under several different umbrella directives. Section five of the 1936 Public Order Act allowed police to charge violent spectators with the, "use of threatening or abusive or insulting words or behaviour," a charge which could be widely interpreted and broadly applicable to many types of conduct. Other charges of criminal damage, public drunkenness, obstructing or assaulting police, and possessing an offensive weapon could also be used in a variety of situations, though police chose these charges less often.[133] In London, police could also select between national and local prosecution in addressing threatening or insulting behaviour, under the Metropolitan Police Act of 1839. More serious common law offences, such as unlawful assembly, affray or riot charges could also be leveled at spectators, though police only rarely issued these charges in extreme cases. Instead of charging spectators with "summary" charges in magistrates' courts without a jury, police could also bring more serious offences to the Crown Courts, to be tried before a jury in the Crown Courts on "indictable" offences. Police preferred sending the cases onto magistrates' courts for several reasons. Indictment trials could be drawn out, costly and delayed. Convictions could also be more difficult to ensure in a jury trial, where evidence and police testimonies were not only necessary but scrutinized, whereas a magistrate could quickly issue a sentence. In

[133] Trivizas, "Offences and Offenders in Football Crowd Disorders," 278-9.

addition, if suspects were convicted, any claims for damages involved with the case were transferred to the state, which was held responsible for reimbursement of damages under the Riot Damages Act of 1886. In addition, the results of the magistrates' decisions could never be appealed. Because of these deterrents, though police had discretion in which summary charges to use, they most frequently used the umbrella charge of threatening and insulting behavior, which could be easily applied to many different activities.[134]

The statistics in Home Office and DOE records roughly match earlier criminological research on sentencing, culled from arrest schedules, police diaries, and charge sheets in Scotland Yard and police districts in Tottenham, Shepherds Bush and elsewhere.[135] Police most often used "threatening behavior", but also charged arrestees with "criminal damage", "assault on police," or "use of an offensive weapon" in slightly more complicated cases. In the case of summary convictions, threatening or insulting behavior could be met with a maximum of three months imprisonment or up to £100 fine. Magistrates often used these maximum guidelines, but developed different sentencing standards in each district. Though most magistrates across the nation issued fines ranging

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[134] Much of the information in this paragraph is from Eugene Trivizas, "Disturbances Associated with Football Matches: Types of Incidents and Selection of Charges," *British Journal of Criminology* 24:4 (October 1984), 376-81.

[135] Trivizas, "Sentencing the Football Hooligan," 344-6. I reviewed several arrest schedules from Tottenham, Bristol, and Fulham, whose police diligently sent their schedules to various Working Parties and sports ministries between 1969-1977. Though I did not have access to the entire record of arrests for any one district over the entire period, I did review samples which were sent on to Whitehall. For example, I have all of the arrest sheets for specific matches in Bristol, or the figures for February 1977 from Tottenham and St. Anns Road (Districts YT and YA). Periodically, several districts would report figures to the Department of Environment or Home Office when requested.

from £20 to £100 for threatening behavior, magistrates in Tottenham routinely issued the maximum £100 fine by the 1976-77 season.[136] They most often chose fines rather than detention, with other charges carrying slightly different sentences: £75-100 for insulting words, £100-150 for offensive weapon charges, and, in one rare case, twelve months' detention for theft.[137] In Bristol, though standard fines ranged from £20-£50, magistrates grew fond of charging restitution claims in criminal damage cases where club or private property was injured. All told, restitution and fines could total nearly £200 in many damage cases. Both of these districts proved substantially more punitive than other districts. Magistrates in Fulham proved much more lenient, especially in 1976-77, when only rare cases brought fines in excess of £50 for any charge. Charges of drunk and disorderly conduct or threatening behavior usually resulted in fines of £10-£25. In roughly 10% of the threatening behavior charges, Fulham magistrates sentenced spectators to a mere twelve hours at a local attendance center.[138] Magistrates used personal discretion in sentencing transgressive spectators, and responded to public panic differently, but usually followed informal standards established at each district. Therefore, depending on the location of the match, spectators faced widely varying police charges and sentences across Britain.

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[136] See Tottenham and St. Anns Road district Schedules of Prisoners Charged, in letter from Commander E.F. Maybanks, New Scotland Yard to Miss Green, Home Office, Police Department, 3 March 1977. In PRO HO 287/2053.

[137] Theft could be charged under Section 1 of the Theft Act 1968 if magistrates and/or police requested serious sentencing. The Criminal Damage Act of 1971 could also be used in certain cases, as could the Prevention of Crime Act 1953, especially in weapons charges. Police were given discretion in which charges, above or beyond the Public Order Act 1936, to bring against spectators.

[138] See, for example, the arrest schedules from Chelsea v. Fulham, 15 February 1977 in PRO HO 287/2053.

In the early 1970s police rarely leveled more serious indictable offenses in Crown Courts, but they became more widespread as media coverage of undercover police operations and football spectator conspiracies blossomed in the late 1980s. In fall 1971, the High court in Dudley heard the first charges of affray and riot brought against football spectators. After a match between Wolverhampton and Nottingham Forest in September 1971, West Midlands police charged seven men, aged sixteen to twenty-five, with charges of riot, affray, and using an offensive weapon. At the trial in February 1972, five civilian and eight police witnesses testified that the men had attacked a coach carrying opposing fans away from the stadium after the match, and a jury convicted five of the seven men on affray and weapons charges. The judge dismissed the riot charges on the grounds that the spectators had not gathered with "unlawful intent." The younger offenders were sent to juvenile detention centers for three months while two adult men received twelve and fifteen months' imprisonment.[139] However, this case was exceptionally rare.[140] These steep charges proved more difficult to convict, costly to police and government authorities, and time intensive. However, the evidence reveals that the Sports Ministry followed these rare cases, interested in the effect of their outcomes for further Crown Court trials of football spectators. Indictable charges

[139] See West Midlands Constabulary report to D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office, 2 March 1972. PRO HO 287/2051.

[140] See John Williams, "Football Hooliganism: Offences, Arrests and Violence – A Critical Note," *British Journal of Law and Society* 7:1 (1980), 104-11.

became more popular in the late 1980s when charges of affray and conspiracy could be leveled in high-profile media trials.[141]

In sum, redundant and ill-defined government legislation allowed police officers use of a wide variety of charges to prosecute unruly spectators. Police preferred to use wide-ranging charges such as threatening behavior or criminal damage, which only required bringing the arrestees before a magistrate rather than a drawn-out criminal trial. Nonetheless, police still faced several obstacles to conviction, including lack of evidence and testimony, hearing scheduling, and timing. Police faced pressure to bring arrests through to conviction, but doing so often required extra hours on the job and fighting through administrative difficulties.

Forms of Punishment

Despite these punitive sentencing practices, a wide range of social actors complained about the magistrates' failure to deter violent spectators' conduct through punishment. Members of parliament and police officials consistently asked for steeper fines and the maximum punishment allowed by legislative guidelines. Government officials hoped that encouraging excessive punishment would deter unwanted behavior. Many suggested draconian punishments outside the boundaries of contemporary law

[141] Armstrong and Hobbs cover each and every covert policing trial from 1986 to 1992, as well as how the media sensationalized the organization and criminality of football gangs during this era. See "Tackled From Behind." The Wolverhampton case predates their estimation of the first use of Crown Court charges in London in November 1973 by eighteen months.

which were meant to deter football disorder through violent threats and cruel retribution. Sentencing and arrests also became key elements in law-and-order policy, which allowed MPs to gain public favor by supporting steep punishment for criminalized football supporters.

Unsurprisingly, police often preferred to eject or warn spectators rather than arrest them and issue charges. As discussed earlier, problems of individual identification among group activities often prohibited police from recognizing which spectators were responsible for specific transgressions. Identification proved problematic in areas like traincars, queues, terraces, and other crowded areas inside and outside of stadiums. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, arrests could be resisted not only by the arrestee, but by those around him/her, especially when the arrests occurred within the terraces. Home Office officials, however, wanted police to make arrests as often as possible. As discussed in Chapter Four, higher arrest numbers indicated to indicate to the public that government and police authorities had effectively addressed the issue of football violence with quick action and practical justice. Arrest numbers could be distributed to the public through the media to reveal how diligently the Home Office and local police prosecuted violent spectators.

However, when they did make formal arrests, police wanted magistrates to issue severe penalties to discourage others from participating in football violence. Frank Williamson, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Crime, suggested to the Home Office that arrestees should be taken immediately to the magistrates' courts and, "be bound over to

keep the peace." He added that, "This would act as a deterrent in the future and protect police officers who had physically ejected disorderly people from a football ground from the danger of complaints about the use of excessive force or police powers."[142] Williamson sought to jail spectators until the courts reopened, suggesting the police circumvent accusations of unlawful imprisonment and brutality by bringing arrestees to the magistrates' courts on match day. The idea not only reflects the problems police faced in securing conviction over the weekend and in presenting arrestees to the court on the hearing date, but also that many police feared accusations of rough treatment when they ejected fans or held away spectators. No less an authority than Williamson, the Home Office's chief police authority, sought to change the process in order to expedite convictions. Police from several districts echoed the sentiment. In Stoke, police wanted to bring offenders to the courts on matchday to present the judges with arrestees, "dressed as they would be for the match and in the same frame of mind."[143] Howell's Working Party agreed that displaying spectators' emotionality and game-day garb to the magistrates would result in steeper punishment, and praised other police officials in Newcastle for attempting the same process.[144]

Police were also aware of the ways in which spectators skirted fines, and hoped that magistrates could imagine new possibilities for punishment. Police superintendents

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[142] Frank Williamson to D.J. Trevelyan, Home Office, 17 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[143] Comments by Superintendent Ralphs from Stoke, in Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Stoke Cty, 25 July 1974. In PRO HO 300/112, file 44.

[144] Notes for reply to Newcastle Football Club, Denis Howell, 5 November 1975. In PRO AT 60/41.

in Bristol, "felt that punishments should be realistic. A fine was often met by a 'whip-round' amongst the friends of an arrested youth." Such complaints referred to supporters who collected money from collectives of fans to pay for individual fines. As alternatives, they suggested detention on match days or fines and prison sentences for the majority of juvenile offenders.[145] The complaint reveals that spectators often circumvented direct punishment through collective action. Local police recognized that monetary fines often did not always lead to detrrence, and requested a more extreme removal of personal freedoms.

While police dealt with the practical problems of arrests and punishment, MPs intermittently debated the matter in Westminster. A strong consensus emerged from both parties: spectators should be punished to the full extent of the law, and magistrates should be encouraged to sentence them accordingly. As early as 1967 several MPs asked Home Office Minister Dick Taverne to impose tougher penalties on those found guilty of football disturbances.[146] When train damage emerged as a costly government problem, authorities urged concrete action. Conservative Teddy Taylor (Glasgow) asked Minister for Transport Richard Marsh if he was aware, "that in a recent case vandals responsible for 800 pounds' worth of damage were fined only 5 pounds each? Is he aware that the Government would have the general support of the public if they provided for more effective penalties to deal with recent orgies of vandalism?"[147] The statement

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[145] Working Party on Crowd Behavior, Report of Visit to Bristol, 22 August 1974. In PRO AT 25/247.

[146] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 751 (26 October 1967), col. 1864.

[147] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 775 (9 December 1968), col. 31.

emphasized the sexualization of violence and intimated the excitability and animalism of working-class spectators, emphasizing the moral as well as physical challenge football violence posed to government. Frustrated with the costly problems local police, transport authorities and football clubs faced, government representatives consistently harangued Cabinet leadership for their failure to deter further violence.

The matter enraged members so much that parliamentary debates on adolescent crime or national sports financing frequently digressed into workshops in which representatives brainstormed cruel punitive acts in desperate bids to curb football violence. MPs frequently suggested new forms of punishment including habitual delinquents' exclusion from matches, detention sentences and a return to corporal punishment for adolescent offenders. Many of these suggestions strayed beyond the recommended sentences for juveniles and the maximum guidelines for punishment under the 1936 Public Order Act. Both Labour and Conservative ministers fielded suggestions for mandatory attendance center orders, where young fans would be required to appear at local correctional stations on matchdays, to be supervised by police. However, under the guidelines, the center issued the schedule of appearances, not the magistrate, so neither police nor judges could ensure that spectators would not be present at the next game.[148] One Home Office brief also warned that, "it would be wrong in principle to associate the police with punishment; but added to that is the fact that the police would be thus troubled at a time when they were under particularly heavy pressure in any case."

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[148] For example, see Teddy Taylor's comments in *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 751 (26 October 1967), col. 1864 and Sir Greville Janner (Labour: Leicester) in Vol. 782 (1 May 1969), 1597.

Other members' suggested civil service and labor as compensation for harm done to British society. In one particularly heated debate, after a series of football disturbances in spring 1977, Walter Johnson (Labour: Derby South) noted, "I was interested in the suggestion that thugs should be dealt with by a type of military service." He issued a proposal for the establishment of a special branch of military service, under the supervision of the Army, and recommended that offenders complete three to four month tours. "Some would call it conscription, but I do not mind what it is called. Let such people be subjected to a discipline that they do not get in school or at home," he argued. He asked Home Office officials to carry the idea to the Secretary of Defence.[149] Later that spring, Leslie Spriggs (Labour: St. Helens) asked for a drastic increase in penalty under the current laws, and advocated that police use criminal prosecution rather than summary charges to ensure detention rather than fines. "We should pass the maximum possible sentences on the thugs so that they can be put away for long enough." His final suggestion was the most severe: "Instead of being allowed to watch football they should be made to work with a shovel on match days," presumably in some form of civil labor program.[150] Both suggestions intimated that football disturbances not only reflected the deterioration of Britain's cultural core, but also contributed to it. Young working-class supporters epitomized the deterioration of youth, who apparently lack core British values of hard work, discipline, and temperance. In both proposals, guilty supporters should be made to restore the nation through manual labor and civil service, which would remedy

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[149] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 929 (6 April 1977), col. 1353. There is no record that the Home Office acted on the suggestion.

[150] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 931 (5 May 1977), col. 728.

the flaws of their personal character as well as young working-class men collectively. Members of Parliament here attempted to devise plans for convicted spectators to repay a perceived debt to British society, imagining punishment that not only excluded fans from the realm of football but also provided practical forms of civil service which could be more punitive than the current correctional options.

While many proposals for exclusion emerged in political discussions, manipulating ticket prices and fines found the most favor among government members and police. Suggesting heavier fines or prohibitive ticket prices revealed that regulators aimed at excluding disruptive spectators from consuming the sport and participating in its rituals. "Would it not make sense," Ivor Clemitson argued (Labour: Luton East), "to devise a punishment to prevent the offenders from attending football matches for a considerable period of time?" Neil Macfarlane, later Conservative Sports Minister under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, replied that the average fine should be £400 rather than £40. "There must be scope for hitting the persistent hooligan very sharply through his wallet," Macfarlane added.[151] The simplest way to deter football disturbances, government officials argued, was to increase fines and make attending matches more difficult.

Heavier fines and costly youth ticket prices targeted several different dimensions of working-class football consumption, and reveal the assumptions government officials made regarding punishment. Clearly, the inconvenience of paying a significant fine

[151] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 893 (19 June 1975), col. 1783.

proved annoying, if not extremely difficult, for arrested supporters. Some of the above suggestions insinuated that some offenders should be indebted to the state for significant periods of time. With less disposable income, government officials assumed that offenders would have less to spend on football attendance. In addition, sports governors connected the fear of working-class affluence with the need for punishment, and aimed at limiting the opportunities for football consumption available to them. Postwar fears of working-class affluence expressed during the Teddy, Mod and Rockers scares, here re-emerge with football spectators.[152] Presumably, targeting disposable income would through magistrate punishment would rectify the entire social problem.

Finally, regulators assumed that increasing fines would force parents to be more responsible for the actions of their juvenile children, especially when away from home. Police at Middlesborough and Sunderland routinely requested parents to pick up their children, and occasionally pay their fines, when local magistrates sentenced younger offenders.[153] Traveling to pick up adolescent supporters, especially on short notice, could be very expensive for working-class parents. In this case, parents of the accused became the targets of punishment as much as juvenile offenders. Such imaginative punishments attempted to discipline working-class families, and therefore the entire working-class population, and not merely individuals. Consider similar assumptions about working-class families and the influence of discipline in Denis Howell's comments on the origins

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[152] See Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds., *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Sub-Cultures in Postwar Britain* (London: Hutchinson, 1976).

[153] See Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Newcastle, 25 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112, file 32. See also Visit to Sunderland, 24 May 1974, file 31.

of football violence. Labour's leading sports governor speculated, "We all have our pet theories…I have my own prejudice. In most working-class homes the mother is the disciplinarian. A lot of this trouble can be traced back to the time when mothers began regularly to go out to work." After sympathizing with mothers who have to hold down three jobs and seem exhausted, he noted that, "the easy way to get the children away from under their feet is to give them 50p to go out." Mothers preferred to relax and watch television, Howell noted, and therefore contributed to a lack of communication and discipline within working-class families.[154] Howell's rare attempt to explain the origins of football violence laid blame on working-class mothers. Though Howell also mentioned secondary issues of social deprivation, boredom, and education, his explanation subtly accused working-class women of laziness, indiscipline and improper parenting. Regardless of his supposed sympathies for women in work, Howell recriminated supporters' mothers for failing to control the emergence of working-class affluence and football violence among their teenagers. Howell never mentioned the role of fathers, presumed to be absent or uninvolved in family relationships. Fines or requests for pickups by local police, encouraged by the federal authorities and assumptions of working-class affluence, attempted to discipline working-class families as well as individual spectators.

In addition to heavier fines and family discipline, another series of punitive suggestions called for the reinstatement of corporal punishment for young offenders.

[154] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 931 (6 April 1977), col. 789.

Here we see how government discourse began to influence and reflect media attention to football disorder, which repeatedly included calls for birching, thrashing and hosing down offenders as moral anxieties about football violence blossomed.[155] The Football Association and football supporters' clubs across the UK also championed the use of birching and the implementation of stocks at stadiums.[156] Despite discontinuing such practices in 1948, ideas about physical castigation also emerged in parliamentary debates, and state authorities pursued the idea within the Home Office. Shadow Sports Minister Hector Munro claimed that, "we must shock these hooligans into their senses. I am glad that the provisions will [perhaps] include swingeing detention for those who do not behave responsibly," referring to thrashing or beating offenders.[157] No member disagreed with him during the debate.

Supporters clubs' proved to be the most fervent advocates of corporal punishment, especially reviving use of the birch. As mentioned in the second chapter, supporters clubs helped to define the distinction between "genuine" fans and "troublemakers". Supporters clubs often envisioned themselves as the protectors of forms of gentlemanly consumption against more physical, collective forms of spectatorship. Members of the supporters' clubs petitioned the government to use the full complement of available punishments to prevent disorder, but emphasized the need for

[155] See Stuart Hall, "The Treatment of 'Football Hooliganism' in the Press," in Roger Ingham, ed., '*Football Hooliganism': The Wider Context* (London, Inter-Action Inprint, 1978).

[156] See Rogan Taylor, *Football and Its Fans: Supporters and Their Relations With the Game, 1885-1985* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 163-169.

[157] *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 929 (6 April 1977), col. 1335.

physical castigation. The Manchester United Fan Club, proudly proclaimed as Manchester's oldest supporters' organization, wrote to sports governor Denis Howell that, "They are not true supporters of Manchester United but troublemakers. They want sorting out and giving the birch. That would stop them. Talking to them won't neither will fines. They have too much money. £5 means nothing to them these days."[158] Fears about working-class youth affluence encouraged a constant escalation in the severity of punishment. The club's comments reveal that sections of the public sought to escalate punishment and reintroduce physical castigation because they perceived the transgressors to be more than able to pay for fines. These forms of punishment also reinvigorated discourses of young working-class men as infantile and bestial, assumed to be teachable only by the birch or the belt. State authorities and gentleman spectators considered working-class supporters not amenable to social rehabilitation and implied their irrationality. In the end, these class discourses rendered young working men incapable of change, denied their status as rational subjects, and completely denied any consideration of their political or personal motives.

Despite extreme calls for corporal punishment by the public and several MPs, the national government never reinstituted physical castigation. Government officials and police authorities were forced to settle for the flexibility of fines and minimal detention as the harshest options for penalizing supporters and their families. Though they could not force magistrates to utilize any particular option or maximize sentences, they imagined

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[158] Letter from Dorothy M. Woolley, Secretary of Manchester United Fan Club to Denis Howell, 30 April 1974. In PRO AT 60/12.

punitive alternatives that reinforced the false assumption that excessive punishment unequivocally deterred further transgression.

Changing Legal Standards?: From Non-Interference to State Involvement

To appease calls for swift justice and heavy punishment, several branches of the national government as well as MPs attempted to exert pressure on judicial authorities. Though some state officials initially defended the right of magistrates and the judiciary to choose sentences and levy penalties as they saw fit, others soon tampered with legal process. Denis Howell, the leading voice of law-and-order against football rowdyism, attempted to circumvent legal and political restrictions through several political avenues. He repeatedly initated cabinet-level discussions that tested the limits of the Department of Environment's autonomy and attempted to extend the authority of one of its undersecretarial agencies, the Sports Ministry. As part of his crusade against working-class football supporters, Howell explored several avenues with Home Office legal officials and other government experts. Between 1974 and 1977, in his second term as Sports Minister, Howell attempted to ascertain how his agency could adjust arresting and sentencing procedures without inciting allegations of operating outside the law. Persisting in his belief that stricter punishment deterred further transgressions, Howell aimed to ensure that the third arm of his campaign against spectators would incorporate an intimidating display of authority to disorderly working-class spectators.

Howell, though, was not the first to attempt to sway magistrates' sentencing decisions, although he proved the most persistent. Before examining his political theatre, we must recognize that Howell built on punitive policies constituted during the early emergence of football violence in the late 1960s. John Lang's initial inquiry responded to calls from police to encourage magistrates to impose steeper fines and more serious charges. Glasgow police and local club Rangers F.C. officials pleaded, "that when apprehended first offenders should receive stiffer fines than at present imposed by the magistrates." Repeat offenders, "should be remitted to the Sheriff's Court for the wider discretion and bigger penalties such Courts could inflict." Local police also protested fines paid in installments, which allowed less affluent spectators to pay off high fines over time, thus diminishing their deterrent value.[159] Alan Hardaker, chair of the Football League and member of the inquiry committee, seconded the protest, noting that magistrates' maximum guidelines would produce the necessary discipline: "The Football League clubs believe that what is happening in football is symptomatic of the growing indiscipline of certain elements in the country, and until the police are supported by stronger action by magistrates, there is little that can be done to deal with the problem."[160] Implied class discourse again marks Hardakers' remarks, tacitly endorsing strict punishment as the only remedy for outbursts by troublesome working-class

[159] Working Party on Crowd Behaviour At Football Matches, Report of a Meeting at Ibrox Park, Glasgow, 16 June 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

[160] Letter from Alan Hardaker, Football League Secretary, to Working Party/Home Office officials, 1 October 1969. In PRO HO 287/1500.

spectators. The committee debated at length the inclusion of recommendations to pressure magistrates to take further action.

Chairman John Lang, like other Home Office officials before and after him, recognized that compelling magistrates or Crown Court prosecutors to pursue steeper sentences and criminal charges could not be achieved easily. Making suggestions to any court without legislative mandate violated the boundaries established between the judiciary and Parliament. In a memo to other inquiry members, Lang noted, "I am aware that when we were considering the working of our report, we felt that any seeming interference with magistrates was a 'hot potato' but I have swung round to the view that a guarded reference to standard of punishment might be possible. The absence of any such reference might be criticised."[161] The inquiry feared that the general public and political opposition would attack their final recommendations as soft on criminal football activity. Lang's committee included a veiled recommendation that magistrates make the maximum sentencing limits standard. "It would be wrong for us to seek to interfere with the discretion of the courts…but we are bound to express the hope that magistrates will…award punishments that match the seriousness of the offence and are likely to serve as an effective deterrent."[162] Lang's committee, the first state-sanctioned inquiry into football violence, wanted to project an image of state authority, manifest in architectural

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[161] Memorandum by Chairman J.G. Lang to Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches, undated (summer/early fall 1969). In PRO HO 287/1500.

[162] See *Report of the Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches* (London: HMSO, 1969), paragraph 30. The debated paragraph, initially marked 29A, was reworked several times to achieve the desired tone. See Working Party on Crowd Behaviour at Football Matches, Modifications to Final Report Proposed by Chairman, undated (summer/early fall 1969). In PRO HO 287/1500.

changes, improved police procedures, and stiff punitive deterrents. Since they could not directly control the third element of their law-and-order program, they attempted to sway magistrates to support their objectives.

Home Office and DOE agents recognized that influencing magistrates' decisions could provoke a public or political backlash. As police officials, government representatives, and the Lang inquiry exerted pressure on the Home Office and Sports Ministry to compel magistrates to issue tough sentences to football offenders, other government officials initially defended the judiciary's right to act without external interference. In 1967 Dick Taverne of the Home Office defended the magistrates' sole jurisdiction over punishment, and in 1969 Home Secretary James Callaghan upheld this separation.[163] Callaghan's Conservative successor, Reginald Maudling, maintained the position and declared, "that he shared the view that offences of violence of this kind had to be treated very seriously, but he had no powers to give instructions to the courts." Instead, he suggested that, "public opinion was a powerful influence here," intimating that the Home Office could build public favor to persuade magistrates to impose harsher penalties.[164] Though ministers and MPs could not formally pressure the lower courts, they could build the perception that the public also demanded steeper penalties. Callaghan also informed Lord Chancellor Quintin Hogg of the displeasure recorded by Home Office ministers and the governors of sport, "in case he has an opportunity for

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[163] On Taverne, see *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* vol. 751 (26 October 1967), col. 1864. On Callaghan see Vol. 782 (1 May 1969), 1597.

[164] Note of a Meeting with Representatives of the Football Interests at the Home Office, 13 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

bringing the public concern on these issues to the notice of the magistracy."[165] Without direct influence on the judiciary, Cabinet-level ministers used the public to build support for inflexible standards of punishment against lawlessness in football. Since the media usually supported the Conservatives' castigation of football supporters generally, calling on the public for support proved a worthwhile political tactic. As with the moral arguments they constructed in public discourse against rowdy football spectators, political officials forwarded calls for punishment with the support of media networks and social reformers. Such subtle political manipulation proved only the first step in promoting punishment as the political answer to the conundrum of football violence.

Magistrates varied in their response to public and government pressure, but continuously defended their right to determine the standards for punishment. In Newcastle, magistrates leveled lower fines because, with high levels of unemployment, they wanted to ensure that supporters could actually pay the fine. Though several police constables complained that their authority was weakened by lower fines, "it was recognised that in an area of high unemployment, there was little point in imposing heavy fines."[166] Here, the possibility of collecting the fine or recovering money for damages determined the level of punishment, not political pressure.

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[165] Home Secretary Reginald Maudling to Denis Follows, Football Association, 27 August 1970. In PRO HO 287/1630.

[166] Football/Ministerial Working Party on Crowd Problems, Visit to Newcastle United, 25 April 1974. In PRO HO 300/112.

However, in 1975, The Magistrates' Association, the representative body of local magistrates, asked the Home Office to pursue legislation to expand the punitive standards available in summary sentencing. "A meeting of our Council today endorsed the recommendation…that we should urge Her Majesty's Government to consider extending the age range and expanding Senior Attendance Centre facilities to a level that will enable the Courts to deal promptly and effectively with football and other hooligans." The centerpiece of the consortium's recommendations was the extension of the use of attendance centers for young offenders, which they found more threatening than the less stringent juvenile sentencing standards or fines. Twelve hour attendance centre sentences could prevent fans from attending matches when scheduled for matchdays. The magistrates' assembly thought such sentences, "would be particularly useful as suitable reporting centers for football hooligans, providing punishment without loss of job and also prevention of further trouble-making on succeeding Saturdays." They added that the use of attendance centers on Saturdays would have wide public acceptance, and therefore be a politically viable sentencing alternative. Cognizant of the constraints on police resources, the magistrates recommended that centers hire staff to monitor the centers on Saturdays. Attendance centers could also be used, they noted, as punishment for groups, especially when magistrates avoided pursuing time-consuming individual sentences.[167] The letter revealed that the magistrates' association faced similar challenges of dealing with public pressure and the practicalities of the judicial system, and responded by asking

[167] Letter from the Magistrates' Association to Roy Jenkins, Minister of State for the Home Department, 20 November 1975. In PRO AT 60/41.

Parliament to extend juvenile punishment, not through heavier fines or stronger custodial sentences, but through alternative sentencing procedures such as attendance centers. Throughout, they defended their right to choose the sentencing within the boundaries determined by the law, yet responded to growing pressure to sharply punish transgressors.

Despite the clear line drawn between legislative and judicial authority, Denis Howell's response to pressure from other MPs and the public broke earlier Home Office promises to avoid direct interference with juridical outcomes. When Labour reassumed power in 1974, and Howell launched his public campaign against football violence, he also attempted to extend the power of his office to influence juridical procedures against spectators. Under Howell's leadership, Labour immediately attempted to pass the Safety at Sports Ground Act, which eventually extended government authority in licensing and architectural regulation. Howell also sought out ways of manipulating the legal process and extending punitive standards against persistent offenders. In particular, three political episodes demonstrate Howell's eagerness to convert moral campaigns against football supporters into political capital by stretching the limits of acceptable punishment against offenders.

The first occurred in August 1974 when Howell pressured the Home Office and other Labour ministers to support his law-and-order struggle against football supporters. Autumn 1974 saw several high-profile cases of violence, including the Tottenham

Hotspurs incident in Holland and a murder in Blackpool.[168] Howell responded with a well-publicized tirade in which he promised that his Working Party would root out football violence by advocating the full repertoire of available punishments. Howell complained that "detention centers" were merely "half full" and that magistrates should be encouraged to sentence offenders to custodial detention: "Once they were able to go to matches again they would think twice about misbehaving,"[169] Howell made a key mistake in confusing detention centers and attendance centers, for which several Home Office officials reprimanded him. Considered a very serious custodial sentence, magistrates could only order detention center sentences for three to six months, and usually refrained from the sentence as the three centers in southern England proved perpetually full.[170] Attendance center sentences could be ordered for a single Saturday, but not even the Home Office could order the centers to be open over the weekend if resources proved limited. Furthermore, they could not be used for offenders over the age of seventeen.[171] Despite the blunder, Howell requested a meeting with Roy Jenkins to urge the Home Office to support his insistence on stricter punishments.

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[168] On the Tottenham incident, see Chapter Two. In August of 1974, a young man fatally stabbed another at Blackpool, and many newspapers falsely reported it as the first murder among football spectators. See *Daily Telegraph*, 26 August 1974. For earlier incidents of fatal violence see Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy and John Williams, *The Roots of Football Hooliganism: An Historical and Sociological Study* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

[169] *The Guardian*, 30 July 1975.

[170] Letter from T.J. Higgs, Chairman of South West London Commission Area, Petty Sessional Division of Wallington, to Denis Howell, Department of Environment, 30 July 1975. In PRO AT 60/39, file E1.

[171] Letter from J.A. Chilcott, Legal Department of Home Office to D.A.S. Sharp, Department of Environment, 30 July 1975. In PRO AT 60/40. Two "senior detention centres" existed, but between 1974-6 the Home Office Advisory Council on the Penal System continuously considered discontinuing their use. See PRO AT 60/41, file E5.

Shortly after Howell's tirade, he and the Home Secretary convened to, "discuss the relationship between his interests as Minister of Sport and your [Jenkins'] overall responsibility for problems of law and order," but the meeting resulted in Jenkins asking for diplomatic cooperation from Howell in the best interests of the Labour party.[172] Home Office officials had shown some reservations about Howell's campaign against spectators, especially his insistence on forcing magistrates' sentences.[173] As Home Secretary, Jenkins also considered football disorder a severe social problem, but did not appreciate Howell's attempts to force the Home Office to make legislative changes so that the Sports Ministry could carry out its punitive agenda. Howell argued that he, "had acted on the assumption that there was a need for someone in the Government to appear concerned and active." Howell' recommendations to the Home Office included changing the 1969 Child and Young Persons Act (CYPA) to include steeper punishments for juvenile offenders. He noted that, "a common complaint was that first offenders could not be adequately dealt with and could not be sent to detention centres." Furthermore, "while fines of £100…seemed large, they could easily be met by a whip-round among associates." Howell also recommended that community service be considered if the Home Office pursued revising the CYPA, which provided the legal framework for

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[172] Home Office brief prepared for Home Secretary Roy Jenkins by Police Department at Home Office, 6 September 1974. In PRO HO 300/113.

[173] Letter from Private Secretary S.G. Norris, Home Office to Mr. Chilcott, Legal Department, and other Home Office officials, 21 August 1974. In PRO HO 300/113.

adjudicating juvenile crime. He also cited support from several magistrates and juvenile social work groups which advocated the extension of detention and attendance centers.[174]

Jenkins responded to Howell's request by protecting the interests of the Labour Party's political initiatives rather than succumbing to the Department of Environment's concerns about football disorder. Jenkins disliked the idea of changing the CYPA because Labour had gained much political capital by appearing tough on crime when they passed the Act during their last administration.[175] Jenkins said, "he was aware of a certain amount of criticism of the 1969 Act, some of which was probably justified. There was a need, however, to handle such criticisms carefully, as the Act had been Labour Party legislation." He added that, "There was no advantage in stirring up discussion of the existing Act until the Government had worked out clear proposals for legislation to take its place." On community service, Home Office legal advisors reminded Howell that offenders had to consent to the sentence and be willing to participate, and that civil service rarely worked as a punitive measure. The Home Office's head legal official, "had reservations about presenting community service as a negative way of keeping people out of trouble. This could damage its image and alienate those on who one had to rely to make it work, in particular probation officers." The Home Office denied Howell's request for expansive community service but did agree to look into a legislative

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[174] See, for example, The National Council of Women for Great Britain Memorandum on the Working of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 prepared for the House of Commons Expenditure Committee, July 1974. The committee consisted of several juvenile judges, magistrates and social workers, and supported Howell in his fight for more attendance and detention centers.

[175] See letter from D.A.S. Sharp, Home Office to Private Secretary for Denis Howell, 17 September 1974. In PRO AT 25/247.

amendment that would allow magistrates to assign and schedule attendance center appearances.[176]

Despite consistent pressure from Howell and the Department of the Environment, the Home Office found it disadvantageous to privilege the fight against football hooliganism over the entire political image of the Labour Party. Jenkins clearly agreed with Howell about the gravity of football disorder and its impact on the image of Great Britain.[177] However, the Home Secretary recognized that in seeking to appear inflexible on juvenile football disorder they could not compromise Labour's other legislative and political goals. He acknowledged that football disorder contributed to the growing sense of social disorder and youth crime, but in order to pursue revisions of legislation against juveniles, the Home Office could not betray that their existing measures had already failed them.[178] Howell's initial attempt to expand punishment against juvenile football offenders fell short not because of any outspoken voices against the alternative punishments he proposed, but because of practical and political obstacles.

With little help from the Home Office in securing detention sentences, Howell turned to local government to pursue other modes of exclusion. Howell asked his own legal advisors and Home Office legal officials if police or the Department of Environment could ban consistent troublemakers from attending matches indefinitely,

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[176] For the meeting notes and prepared briefs for the meeting between Howell and Jenkins, see Note of a Meeting Between the Home Secretary and Mr. Denis Howell, 10 September 1974. In PRO HO 300/113, files 5-7. The quotes in the previous two paragraphs are drawn from the meeting minutes.

[177] See comments and correspondence from Jenkins in Chapter Two.

[178] The CYPA would not be reviewed until the 1975-6 session, under Cmd. 6494.

perhaps through local authorities. To his dismay, the law disallowed any government or police branch from banning anyone from commercial industry. Such a suspension could only be initiated by the football clubs as the owners of the private land the stadiums rested on. The legal advisers remarked, "If a court punishes an offender for misbehaviour at a ground, that is as far as its control of the offender could go, and subject to his complying with whatever disposal the court makes, he is free to re-offend if he wishes."[179] Howell then investigated the possibility of a county injunction against groups of persistent offenders, which would also exclude offenders from matches. Howell and DOE officials complained that, "In the case of an offender under 21 years of age, the imposition of imprisonment is of course hedged around with 'safeguards' which make it a penalty rarely imposed." An injunction from a county court would not allow imprisonment or detention, but could be useful if Howell could show that, "none of the sanctions open to the criminal courts appear to have any deterrent effect."[180] However, local police would have to gather evidence of criminal activity on several occasions before an individual injunction could be filed and approved. Again, Howell faced the practical difficulty of the immense resources required to prosecute individuals, and eventually stopped pursuing local government avenues.

The second notable incident occurred when Howell attempted to circumvent the magistrates' decisions altogether by promoting the use of heavier criminal charges tried

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[179] Letter from R.M. Whalley, Home Office to T.H. Williams, Legal Advisers Branch, and Mr. Richard Lane, 15 January 1975. In PRO HO 300/113, file 10.

[180] See Note from T.H. Williams, Legal Adviser's Branch to R.M. Whalley, Home Office, 17 January 1975. In PRO HO 300/113, file 11B.

in the Crown Courts. By summer 1975, Howell again requested that the Home Office consider supporting his campaign for tough punishment. In the midst of attempting to pass the Safety at Sports Grounds Act, Howell proposed another bill which would extend the punitive standards for magistrates' sentences. In a private meeting with Jenkins and other Home Office officials, Howell asked the Home Secretary to forward a concurrent bill on punitive criteria. Jenkins immediately denied the request.[181] Two months later, with the support of Conservative and Labour MPs, Howell threatened publicly to pursue charges of affray and riot.[182] Howell forced a meeting with Jenkins by making his case through the newspapers, calling for more serious attention to the ongoing problem. Howell came to this meeting prepared with a list of grievances about the legal constraints on his campaign against football offenders. In addition to clamoring for raising maximum sentences for summary offences, Howell asked the Home Office to encourage police to charge fans with indictable Crown Court charges. He also requested that Jenkins review, "whether magistrates make sufficient use of their power to remit offenders for sentencing in their home area."[183] Jenkins appeased the Sports Minister by listening to his complaints, but took no formal action towards. Nonetheless, the incident again reveals efforts by Howell and the Department of the Environment to maximize the punitive measures available within the legal system, and to stretch the punitive

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[181] Note of a Meeting with Mr. Howell, 12 May 1975. In PRO HO 300/122, file 75.

[182] See Howell and other MPs comments in *The Guardian,* 2 September 1975.

[183] See brief on Sentencing Policy: Meeting with Home Secretary, 16 September 1975, prepared by Department of Environment. In PRO AT 60/39.

dimensions of the law when they thought current measures insufficient for castigating young football offenders.

The third and final episode unfolded as Howell sought reauthorization for corporal punishment after attempts to manipulate other legal and judicial processes failed. In 1977, Home Secretary Merlyn Rees acquiesced to several calls for corporal punishment for violent football offenders and met with Howell to discuss the matter. Rees prepared a series of briefs that specified maximum sentences for various summary and indictable offenses and the existing powers of both magistrates and Crown courts. Howell and Rees discussed the possibility of physical punishment, but Rees made it clear that no corporal practices could be instituted under current law. Reinstating corporal punishment would require new legislation, as the practice had been abolished in 1948. Rees stressed to Howell that, "The Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders considered the matter again in 1960 and concluded that, contrary to popular belief, there was no evidence that corporal punishment was a particularly effective deterrent, and they did not recommend its restoration." Subsequent attempts to make such practices available to judges for sentencing had also failed.[184] Despite the abundance of government voices asking for physical punishment as an alternative sentencing option for football offenders, Rees blocked any attempt to circumvent the law. He also became the first government voice to challenge the assumption that physical castigation could deter unwanted behavior in football.

[184] See Appendix 3, Memo entitled "The Scope for New Penalties," attached to Brief for Home Secretary's Meeting with Denis Howell, 11 October 1976. In PRO HO 287/2055.

These episodes in ministerial dialogue reveal the state could be disunited in its approaches to juvenile crime and football disorder. Howell considered a wide variety of punishments and used the threat of further experimentation with alternative punitive measures to generate an image of Labour's steadfast approach to law-and-order discipline. Howell reached the limits of his crusade within the confines of his own party, who, according to Roy Jenkins and the Home Office, did not want to repeal their own law-and-order legislation in order to create new juvenile legal standards. Jenkins valued the general image of the party, especially its reputation for working-class discipline. However, he set aside Howell's specific concerns with football violence to protect the idea Labour legislated effectively over time. Importantly, Howell received no public opposition to his constant clamoring for increased punishment. Public and political opinion firmly supported Howell's legal pursuit of criminalized, young working-class men. Nonetheless, practical and political roadblocks prevented the Sports Ministry from manipulating the legal system beyond informal recommendations and public pressure on magistrates.

Conclusion

During the 1970s, though government authorities failed to promote any concrete changes to football legislation or the legal apparatus, they exerted informal political pressure against magistrates and police constables. By encouraging magistrates to make maximum punishments standard and supporting indictable charges instituted by police,

government officials helped to shape policies on football regulation and punishment which would be advocated for the next forty years. Though the 1980s saw several symbolic changes to the law, such as the removal of alcohol from football grounds in 1985, the standards for criminal penalty surrounding the sport emerged during the late 1960s and 1970s through contests for political favor and in efforts to appease the public's desire to end lawlessness within football.

Punishment formed a key role in the social drama of law-and-order as it consummated criminal prosecution and contributed to a sense of justice against working-class crime. Punishment promised that the transgressive individual would pay, often literally, for his or her disobedience. Completing this cycle with strict castigation represented the strong presence of law and the inflexibility of successive government administrations against working-class youth crime. As violence worsened within and outside stadiums, political authorities sought to escalate punishment, and considered several new alternatives, in efforts to deter further offences. These actions reinforced the criminalization of communal forms of football spectatorship and aggression. Many of the proposed penalties included violent or laborious elements which would task the body, reinstituting corporal punishment. Although never enacted, these suggestions again demonstrate the government's readiness to advocate violence to prevent violence, especially against unruly working-class spectators.

Finally, the promotion of physical punishment against young working-class men and financial retribution for parents exposed the assumptions Home Office and DOE

officials perpetuated about poorer citizens. Working-class men and women supposedly lacked discipline, especially in urban areas where football violence frequently occurred, because working women failed as mothers. Not only did work deny them the time to instruct their children on temperance and the values of discipline and hard work, they also provided them with excess wealth which contributed to the deterioration of appropriate forms of consumption. Class discourses about corporeal punishment rendered young men not only incapable of proper social conduct, defined by bourgeois values of propriety and gentlemanly consumption of leisure, but also animalistic and puerile. Subjects without reason like disorderly football spectators could only be rehabilitated through threats to the body. In sum, discourses redolent of working-class rehabilitation emerged in discussions of punishment for football violence, which acted to punish not only young working-class men, but also their families.

Incorporating excessive legal punishment into arrest and sentencing procedures supplemented changes to physical environments and police tactics in state authorities' total effort to deter football violence. However, as successful black players emerged in the late 1970s, and became subject to racial abuse and political demonstrations, those concerned about the fate of British football contended with a new moral problem.

Chapter Six- The Football Front:
Fascist and Anti-Fascist Politics in Football, 1977-85.

This chapter will analyze the historical contingency of neo-fascist and anti-fascist activities in British football from the mid-1970s, investigate the intricacies of debates over race and working-class politics in this vivid cultural and social sphere, and examine the intersections of sport with social, political and economic concerns brewing outside the stadiums. In particular, neo-nationalist groups—often labeled or self-identified as British neo-fascists—attempted to utilize the public environment of football to convey ideological and political messages which disputed the arrival of black players. Neo-fascist factions like the National Front also capitalized on the unease generated by successful black players in England's most popular and emblematic sport, attracting new rank-and-file members to far right political groups. To combat the successes of neo-fascist recruiting and their gains in public recognition, anti-fascist political factions protested their presence within football, and aggressively challenged their growing popularity with violent practices of their own. As a result, concerns that neo-fascists articulated about late twentieth century social problems such as immigration conflicts, an unstable economy and high unemployment rates, and racial violence developed into dialogues ensuing in both public and political spheres. Neo-fascist and anti-fascist groups conditioned and often determined the discourses of race, class and violence which materialized within the nation's most popular sport. The production of racial difference and the politics used to combat it not only reflected British social conflicts and

unresolved political disputes, but became productive of cultural discord and social controversy. In sum, football became implicated in the making of multiracial Britain.

Much of the public and political debate about neo-fascism and racisms in football did not emerge until the late 1980s, when grassroots political organizations and football fanzine editors began to challenge the pervasiveness of racial abuse and racial discrimination in professional matches. While these organizations and their objectives are the subject of Chapter Seven, this chapter looks at the emergence of neo-fascist politics and the racial meanings they created in football during the previous decade. Understanding how neo-fascist involvement in football conditioned discussions of racism and anti-racism in later periods is crucial to tracing the evolution of racist attitudes and the historical construction of political messages meant to oppose them.

As racist and neo-fascist expressions surfaced within football, those who worked to sanitize British football and protect its harmonious and refined image adopted concerns about race into their moral repertoire. That is, distress about violence within football was now supplemented by growing anxieties about the presence of racism within the sport. As politicians and the public continued to imbue sport with representations of the nation, new myths about what sport should epitomize appeared. Whereas previous anti-violence campaigns targeted working-class youth for tainting the symbolic demonstrations of genteel masculinity, deference to authority, and gentlemanly Britishness, racism within British football challenged the mythology of a peaceful multicultural Britain in the postcolonial era. While all of the emblematic pressures for harmony and mannered cultivation remained in British football, the social rifts and cultural questions raised by its

working-class spectator base widened to include constructions of race and expressions of racism. These challenges emerged as football faced its most challenging commercial period in the modern era, where ongoing violence and the emergence of commercial television contracts contributed to declining attendance.[1]

Analyzing fascism in football has been recently derided as replicating the public's search for a 'folk devil' to blame for a complex and multifaceted series of racist behaviors.[2] As will be discussed below, this criticism is valid when leveled at anti-racist and anti-fascist initiatives which unfolded during the late 1980s and 1990s. Many of these initiatives, supported by media perspectives which promoted fascism as a hot news topic, championed battling neo-fascism rather than racisms within Britain, and especially within British sport. While these movements will be contextualized and analyzed later in the next chapter, it is important to recognize that several academic studies promoted a fictive separation between fascism in football and racism in football. These investigators did so in an attempt to locate and identify the constantly changing discourses of racism outside of fascism, a project which they carried out with analytical precision.[3] They concluded that a focus on fascism precludes the more politically-useful investigations into non-fascist articulations of racism and racial abuse. On the contrary, evidence will

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[1] For various aspects of the commercialization of football, see Anthony King, *The End of the Terraces: The Transformation of English Football in the 1990s* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1998).

[2] See Les Back, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos, "Beyond the Racist/Hooligan Couplet: Race, Social Theory and Football Culture," *British Journal of Sociology* 50:3 (September 1999), 419-442.

[3] Both major contemporary studies of racism in football make a hard distinction between neo-fascism and racism within football. See Les Back, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001); Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

show that analyzing the convoluted interaction between racism and fascism, and anti-racism and anti-fascism, reveals their interconnections and the historical construction of dominant discourses about race and racisms within the football arena. Rather than denying the influence of fascism's discourses within the world of sport, this chapter attempts to position the role of fascist ideas and anti-fascist political movements as they contributed to non-fascist forms of racism and anti-racism. In doing so, the separation of fascism/racism and anti-racism/anti-fascism will be challenged as the links between each are made plain. The messages and language used by neo-nationalist political parties predominantly shaped the forms that racial abuse and football anti-racist movements would later adopt.

Studies of neo-nationalism and neo-fascism in Britain have also concentrated on two main bodies of study: voting patterns and political ideology.[4] These academic studies clearly reflected concerns about neo-nationalists winning local and national government elections and the appearance of simplified anti-immigration doctrine during two key periods of neo-fascist popularity: the late 1970s and the early 1990s. While such studies disclosed much about neo-fascist politics, other works addressed the relative successes of neo-conservative politics and the far right in postwar European history. These analyses reformulated how historians calculate political "success" by reassessing how the deployment of disruptive social messages and the creation of cultural conflicts

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[4] For classic studies on voting patterns, see the excellent work of Christopher Husbands, especially *Racial Exclusionism and the City: The Urban Support of the National Front* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1983). On neo-fascist ideology and the National Front, see Henry Fielding, *The National Front* (New York: Routledge, Keegan & Paul, 1980). On both topics, see Stan Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982).

succeed while efforts at the ballot box fail. Some scholars now believe that the impact of neo-fascist and neo-nationalist groups has been underestimated and that these factions have successfully responded to gaps in democratic representation.[5] While dominant political parties and academics relegated these parties to the margins, others have measured their political impact discursively, analyzing how their messages and spectacle altered the behavior of major political parties, affected local and national policy initiatives, and helped to constitute the terms of debate for contentious issues like non-European immigration and racial violence.[6] Rather than reifying neo-fascism as tangential to sport or external to it, this chapter supplements this work by exploring how particular social dialogues about race in football were organized around neo-nationalist concepts, the fear of their public impact, and the anti-fascist groups which challenged them.

The first section of the chapter addresses the practices of neo-fascists within football grounds, their recruiting tactics, and the political messages they sought to deploy within this cultural setting. Using British neo-fascist literature and journalist interviews with spectators, I argue that neo-fascist groups effectively utilized the football arena to convey broader political messages about the British social landscape, and that their impact extended beyond rank-and-file members of neo-nationalist groups. The second section contextualizes neo-fascist football recruiting within a wider range of peripheral political practices in urban areas. By situating football recruiting and premeditated racial

[5] Michelle Hale Williams, *The Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties in West European Democracies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

[6] *Ibid*, Chapter Eight on the impact of peripheral politics.

violence alongside other forms of street politics like marching, rallies, and publicity stunts, the wide variety and importance of football demonstrations becomes clear. In particular, the territorial battles for paper-selling ‘pitches’ outside football stadiums became fundamental to the social success of both neo-fascist and anti-fascist groups. This section also addresses how neo-nationalist parties moved away from football politics in the mid-1980s as bad publicity grew and hurt their formal political pursuits at local and parliamentary elections. Using anti-fascist literature and memoirs, the third section evaluates the efforts of anti-fascist groups to disrupt neo-fascist practices. Their attempts to challenge fascism adopted oversimplified articulations of racism and fascism, and relied heavily on reciprocating violent political action which escalated the incidence of violence within football and intensified earlier government trends in promoting violent and self-policing environments. As the evidence reveals, anti-fascist movements and their anti-racist successors replicated earlier government strategies which paradoxically promoted repressive violence to combat racism. Importantly, anti-fascist movements usually challenged racism at football because it represented a division in working-class politics, with very little reference to the experiences or challenges racial abuse presented to black players or supporters. Anti-fascists targeted their efforts at white spectators, neglecting the lived experience of racisms and their influence on black social actors in this arena.

Neo-Fascist Politics and the Football Environment

The on-field success of several black footballers within Britain's professional ranks inspired various responses from fans, players, and the state across Britain. The first professional black footballer, Arthur Wharton, joined Rotherham Town in 1889.[7] However, the exposure of black players and racist opposition to their participation significantly amplified as several black men succeeded as footballers in the late 1970s. Though their achievements have been valorized by contemporary anti-racist movements, very few black players succeeded in early twentieth century Britain and thus received little attention: their heightened exposure and continued success began in the mid-1970s and transgressed a culturally homogenous labor market and increasingly commercialized entertainment arena. Only four professional black footballers made a total of seventy-seven first team appearances for British clubs in 1974, and thirty-seven clubs had no black players. By 1993, those numbers gradually increased to ninety-eight players making over 2000 appearances. From 1989 to the present, every club fielded at least one black player throughout the season. Spectators formed racial attitudes in response, both of acceptance and intolerance. Both players' accomplishments and supporters' responses attracted a sizeable degree of public attention and reflected lingering social unrest about interracial job and housing competition.

Global depression in the mid-1970s, partially attributable to increases in oil prices, continued to present difficulties for poorer sections of society under the Conservative administration of the 1980s. High unemployment rates and the

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[7] See Phil Vasili, *The First Black Footballer: Arthur Wharton, 1865-1930* (Portland: Frank Cass, 1998).

retrenchment of social provisions hit working-class men and women the hardest. Debates over competition in labor markets and council housing reflected white Britons' anxieties about black migrant laborers. These discourses emerged in debates over the suitability of black footballers, foreign or British-born, and often resulted in expressions of racism and racial abuse inside stadiums as white spectators objected to the presence of highly skilled black laborers in the football industry. Studies of the emergence of black players and the variety of racial abuse they faced have been catalogued elsewhere.[8] This section elucidates how neo-nationalist political groups responded to black players who challenged the white homogeneity of football laborers, came to represent conflicts of interracial job competition and housing in tough economic circumstances, and threatened understandings of Britishness embodied in the sport.

The frequent and public demonstrations of violent conduct solidified the National Front's infamous reputation within football. The National Front (NF), the country's most popular neo-nationalist faction in the 1970s, emerged from an alliance of far right political factions in 1967, with the express purpose of stemming foreign migration to Britain and challenging the idealization of multiracial societies. An oligarchy of ultraconservative intellectuals and dictatorial leaders steered the party's anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic policies, and eventually perceived football as a cultural site where such policies could be disseminated and promoted. Many rank-and-file members of the NF had strong connections to local football, and readily used existing social networks to

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[8] See Phil Vasili, *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain* (London: Mainstream Publishing, 2000).

promote party interests. The NF also sought to challenge press accounts of black players where sympathetic journalists gushed over their rise to distinction, creating their own press coverage of matchday activities and black players. Many of these press accounts fed stereotypes of the separateness of black players, emphasizing their creativity, flair and speed against the workmanlike and bullish style of traditional white British players.[9] Neo-fascist violence and racial abuse within football served not only as an objection to the emergence of successful black footballers, and their supposedly uniform style, but also as a form of political practice which drew on the violent conventions of working-class spectatorship developed in the 1960s. The NF's main outlet for distributing information among working-class football supporters was *Bulldog: The Official Paper of the Young National Front*. Edited by young intellectuals like Joe Pearce, groomed for later success within the formal political apparatus, *Bulldog* functioned in at least two ways. First, the paper delivered the news, ideological messages, and political propaganda the NF wanted to distribute to young rank-and-file members, often outside of football stadiums. Second, it published accounts of racial violence and football conflicts meant to inspire young neo-fascists to further demonstrations of violence as exhibitions of party loyalty. A column entitled, "On the Football Front," dispersed heroic tales of young neo-nationalists in violent action against unwanted immigrants or leftist sympathizers. Analysis of these incidents, as well as the ways in which the narratives were framed, reveals how football violence figured in the political repertoire of neo-fascism.

[9] For an example of journalists' coverage of black player accomplishments, see Brian Woolnough, *Black Magic: England's Black Footballers* (London: Pelham, 1983). Woolnough was a football columnist for *The Sun* and his early book, as the title suggests, exoticized black footballers and emphasized their "otherness" while championing their rise in the midst of adversity.

Many of the stories recalled in *Bulldog* gave detailed accounts of intrepid members engaging in violence with black spectators or harassing black footballers both within and outside football stadiums. In an article entitled "Blacks Are Superior?" the writer complains about black players in British professional football and the high level of ability mainstream newspaper sportswriters attributed to them:

> So Britain's Black footballers think that Blacks have 'more flair and speed' and that Whites are 'skinny' and 'pale'…Britain's newspapers seem to agree that Blacks are superior to Whites…If Blacks and newspaper journalists think that Blacks are superior, then most football fans don't agree! Leeds fans and Chelsea fans have both been attacked by the papers or their racist views. In particular, the newspapers condemned the supporters for throwing bananas onto the pitch…Earlier this season Portsmouth fans went even further at Fratton Park. During a second division match a Black player who had been very offensive towards the home fans was pelted not just with bananas but with a large coconut which was thrown from Fratton End!...So football fans from all over the country have made it plain that they do not agree that Blacks are superior. Football fans believe in White Power.[10]

This editorial is fairly typical of NF responses to black players. Most prominently, the division between "Whites" and "Blacks" was not only a political necessity for the creation of anti-immigration ideology, but also emphasized the cultural divisions neo-fascists wanted to promote between the two groups. The writer felt threatened by the connotations of pale skin with frailty and lack of vigor. In addition, throwing bananas and banana skins became the most popular way of protesting black presence in football. The symbolic demonstration of the banana recalled Britain's colonial past and recreated the subordination of colonial subjects and white British superiority, which was

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[10] *Bulldog* no. 37 (January or February 1984?), 8. *Bulldog* was released intermittently due to constraints on publication and funding. The young editors of the paper, Joe Pearce in particular, were also often under investigation or imprisoned for violations of the Race Relations Act, 1977. Therefore, while all of the issues are numbered, they are not always dated.

challenged here by newspapers which affirmed black success. The act also defied the presence of black footballers, even those who were born in Britain, by symbolically asserting their colonial 'otherness' within the football environment. Fruit-tossing also representatively grouped black players as migrants and announced their exclusion from the drama and solidarity of white working-class football. The action also implied the animalism and savagery of black players, by identifying them as monkeys in need of food, opposing them to the purportedly civilized white spectators. Such imagery degraded the accomplishment of black players, emphasizing their supposed depravity and dehumanizing the players. Tossing tropical fruit also indicated the upending of traditional colonial relationships, and was meant to remind black players of their place within an implicit social hierarchy in past colonial relationships, and now the postcolonial world. Evoking objects that signified the past subordination of colonial labor reflected white Briton's anxieties about job competition and communicated their desire for white privilege within existing job markets, including professional football.[11] Furthermore, the writer assumed all supporters to be white and like-minded in their support for the National Front. This self-promotion colors nearly all of the *Bulldog* materials, where violence and racial abuse not only indicate their disapproval, but constitute the climactic apex in the narrative drama. Such articles aimed to educate as much as they did to recall specific actions on particular Saturdays.

Banana-throwing became a frequently repeated response to black players by both NF members and others. Newspapers and journalists frequently cited it as evidence of

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[11] See also Colin King, *Offside Racism: Playing the White Man* (New York: Berg, 2004), 19.

the growing incidence of racism at matches. Remembering a match at West Ham in February 1981, Garry Thompson and Danny Thomas, two black players for Coventry, commented that the banana throwing and verbal abuse had become almost mandatory.[12] Grunting and mimicking ape noises usually accompanied the bananas, no matter the venue.[13] Other spectators ritually cried at the black players, " 'Ooh, ooh, ooh,' the noise that a gorilla makes."[14] Colonial and animal references attempted to establish the alterity and bestial baseness of black players, calling on stereotypes of black physical appearance and colonial labor relationships which emphasized whites' superiority in historical social hierarchies. The paper also encouraged and widely publicized other activities which promoted an extremely unwelcoming environment to black players. One letter to the editor boasts: "Sunderland has had racists at the football matches for years, even though there can't be more than 100 Blacks in the area. But Sunderland is getting ready before they get here and every estate has NF graffiti. Every Black footballer or Black supporter who comes to Roker Park will think twice about coming back again."[15] Other similar abuses abounded to create intimidating and violent terrace environments. In spring 1983, Birmingham NF members boasted of throwing beer cans at newcomer Noel Blake, who came near the terraces at St. Andrew's Park to applaud the loyalty of the fans. Another supporter wrote, "Manager Ron Saunders may have signed two Blacks, but this will not

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[12] In Ellis Cashmore, *Black Sportsmen* (New York: Routledge, 1982), 194.

[13] Richard Turner, *In Your Blood: Football Culture in the Late 1980s and Early 1990s* (London: Working Press, 1990), 31.

[14] Fan quoted in Dave Hill, *'Out of His Skin': The John Barnes Phenomenon* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), 71.

[15] *Bulldog* no. 38 (November/December 1983?), 8.

prevent BCFC NF supporters from following our team…and we'll support them long after they've [black players] gone back home!"[16] Such objections indicate the increased level of racial abuse carried out by NF contingents within football.

In addition to abusing black players, NF members consistently engaged in racially-motivated violence in the areas directly outside stadiums. One of the earliest stories posted in *Bulldog* involved football supporters attacking a nearby rally held by the Communist Party of England and the Indian Workers Movement. "The United and Spurs fans sang 'Rule Britannia' and some actually managed to get at the Reds, despite the police protection." The writer added, "One thing's for sure, the Communists will think twice before marching tough Ilford and Barking again, especially if West Ham and Tottenham are playing at home."[17] The incident, like many others, indicated the territorial dimensions of NF violence. Their attacks on other political rallies indicate their aspiration to control local neighborhoods and street corners as much as their ideological opposition to communism.

These territorial attacks proved similar to NF belligerence not organized around football. Attacks frequently occurred in open public areas: parks, theaters, cinemas, and of course, football matches.[18] These spaces not only provided rare opportunities for interaction between exclusive neo-fascist parties and the multicultural public, but also became contested areas where boundaries of control and power were constantly

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[16] *Bulldog* no. 36 (October 1983?), 6.

[17] *Bulldog* no. 2 (October 1977), 5.

[18] For one of many examples of a public attack on a cinema queue, see *The Times*, 18 February, 1981.

negotiated. In Coventry, an unidentified right wing extremist stabbed an Indian student to death after he and his gang chased the student through the city's shopping center.[19] One attack, motivated specifically by anti-immigrant hate, unfolded when two young men from Luton beat an eight-year old girl and hurled her over a wall as she was walking home from school. The girl later reported, "They called me 'Blackie' and told me to go back to my own country."[20] These attacks are fairly representative of the reports recorded in the major news outlets. The NF consistently promoted violent politics that reflected their anti-black and anti-immigrant perspective and involved territorial competition for influence in public spaces. Certainly, the many attacks on pubs or corner stores owned by Asians and West Indians were not only territorial, but also reflected neo-fascists' disapproval of migrant-controlled local markets and community meeting places. Migrant-owned businesses represented an invasion into the interior of contested public spaces and local commercialism. Football stadiums, and the areas around them, too figured into these territorial contests, as football could be invested with multiple sets of community and local values. Anti-black violence at football can be situated amongst a host of other territorial practices where neo-fascists attempted to exert control over the physical environment and public spaces.

One of the most repeated narratives in *Bulldog* is the 'race riot', which included a description of racial violence where the opposing factions were supposedly divided by race alone. These discourses concretized the separateness and opposition of black and

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[19] *The Times*, 11 May 1982.

[20] *The Times*, 16 July 1983.

white identities in football violence. *Bulldog's* editors included narratives of these encounters at home stadiums, away games, and at English international matches abroad. In an article entitled "YNF Organiser in Football Race Riot," the writer retold how one regional representative , "paid the price for defending himself against vicious Asian attackers…Mark was caught up in a race riot when twenty Pakistanis, brandishing knives and other weapons, attacked a group of Whites." The article conveyed the massive injuries Mark Plaza maintained and positioned him as a suffering victim of immigrant brutality, police negligence, and a corrupt judicial hearing which sentenced him to prison.[21] The narrative stressed the member's victimization and the illegality of the attackers' weaponry, in addition to their aggression and brutality. More importantly, the division between rival groups of fans was constructed along lines of race and not partisan supportership: white Britons vs. Asian immigrants. Rather than focusing on the difference in team affiliation, the writer infused the article with racial and political content which formed the fundamental meanings within this educative description of racial violence. *Bulldog* editors consistently recast football violence as race riots, especially in hotly contested urban territories like north London or the Isle of Dogs, despite local club attachments.[22]

When neo-fascists supporters followed their team to the continent, narratives of racial difference were privileged over nationalist values, revealing the contradictory and

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[21] *Bulldog* no. 17 (February/March 1980), 6.

[22] One article recalls racial violence which broke out at Tottenham F.C.'s FA Cup victory parade in North London, also cast as a race riot where, "a mob of 200 Black Spurs fans attacked a group of 200 White Spurs fans." See *Bulldog* no. 24 (September 1981), 6.

unstable nature of neo-fascist policy. Rather than adopting their team as the center of their fanship, neo-fascists split the environment into white and immigrant spectators, even in foreign countries. Though they followed and supported their English team, they viewed the oppositional divisions within foreign environments as white vs. black, not Tottenham vs. Rotterdam, as the case may be. Despite their allegiance to England and its clubs, and the party's consistent expression of neo-nationalist views, nationalism faded as anti-immigrant racial policies championed the inherent differences and violent antagonisms between imagined black and white groups of social actors. These narratives could be created when neo-fascists initiated attacks. At international matches NF members often infiltrated neighborhoods known to be havens for migrant workers and nearby to stadiums. In 1981, violent clashes occurred in the Zeedyk quarter of Amsterdam, which "is controlled by Black gangs of Surinamese immigrants. It is a 'no go' area for local White youths. However, the Spurs supporters showed Dutch whites how it should be done."[23] Defending national pride or an English club team only entered the report when neo-fascists claimed to be educating continental white men on how to deal with immigrant violence. Rather, the emphasis on inherent racial difference and violent antagonisms with immigrants allowed NF members to be simultaneously persecuted and heroic. Club allegiance became secondary to the constitution of racial antagonisms in 'race riot' narratives of football violence.

In addition to violent tactics and race riot narratives, the NF also continuously attempted to demonstrate their viability and popularity through chants, flag-waving, and

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[23] *Bulldog* no. 25 (November/December 1981), 6.

graffiti. Demonstrations of NF's solidarity not only portrayed their imposing physical presence but also their political viability. One writer recalled, "At Millwall, during the 1977 season, out of a home gate of 3,500, some two hundred young men were sighted standing shoulder to shoulder in para-military uniform, displaying the insignia of the National Front."[24] Chants also emphasized commonality and political cohesion, and were adopted by NF members as ways of establishing their presence within the terraces. The club-specific chants which welcomed John Barnes to Liverpool in 1987 were well-known: "Everton are White! Everton are White!" and "Niggerpool, Niggerpool, Niggerpool!" echoed throughout the stadium at his debut.[25] So too were the classic appeals to white Britishness: "There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack, Send the Niggers Back!"[26] Richard Turner, a sympathetic apologist for football culture in the 1980s, wrote, "Racist chanting occurs at most, if not all, soccer grounds in the League."[27] Chanting not only emphasized the unity of rank-and-file NF members, but also invited non-fascists to anonymously participate in antipathic and threatening demonstrations against black supporters and players.

Flags also became a territorial and political marker of control and influence. While St. George's Cross, the most-recognized symbol of English nationalism, was often emblazoned with the NF insignia, NF members drew on other fascist and racist symbols.

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[24] In David Robins, *We Hate Humans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 112.

[25] Dave Hill, *Out of His Skin*, 134-7.

[26] Back, Crabbe and Solomos, "Beyond the Racism/Hooligan Couplet," 420.

[27] Turner, *In Your Blood*, 31.

In 1980, *The Guardian proclaimed,* "This season, the gloves are off. Down in the shed end in Chelsea, there's a lovingly-made banner with a swastika and SS embroidered." The author also recalled how NF members at Tottenham matches chanted "Tyndall, Tyndall" to recognize the NF party leader.[28] In another incident, at an England match in Switzerland, one fan invaded the pitch draped in a confederate flag, "the symbol of White Power," boasted *Bulldog.*[29] In this case, awareness of international extremist movements and their informal alliances can be seen.[30] Chants and flag-waving both exhibited territorial control and validated the growing popularity of the political fringe movement. Graffiti achieved the same goals, by marking the local geography with claims of local domination and threatening unwanted racial 'others'. NF members frequently sent photos of their graffiti and well-placed NF stickers to *Bulldog* as evidence of their proactive racist activity and success defending local urban environments.[31] Like chanting, graffiti was a form of expression championed for its anonymity and subversiveness to authority.[32] These symbols of political power not only exhibited the

[28] *The Guardian*, 9 December 1980.

[29] *Bulldog* no. 23 (August 1981), 6.

[30] *Searchlight* and other anti-fascist news organizations frequently exhibited fear about an international conspiracy that involved far right extreme movements from Italy, Spain, Britain, Germany and the USA. These alliances, as far as I can tell, never amounted to more than informal contact between different extremist bodies. The exhibition of the confederate flag served as evidence of one of those informal alliances.

[31] See *Bulldog,* "On the Football Front," issues 30 and 31 (November and December/January 1981-2).

[32] One article shows several hundred NF members giving the Seig Heil directly in front of local police. *Bulldog* frequently acted as a clearinghouse for publishing such photos as evidence of their influence and rebelliousness. See issue no. 38 (November/December 1983), 8.

NF's public appeal and relative strength, but also conveyed messages about the control of physical space within and around stadiums.

While many of the above examples provide evidence of the symbolic and representative demonstrations of the NF's anti-racial and anti-immigrant ideology carried out at football grounds, working-class people which supported football clubs on a regular basis provided a healthy recruiting ground for the NF as well. The NF consistently sought further members to participate in street violence and support the party from below. As described in the first part of the book, young working-class men, often unemployed or alienated from the government and British society, populated the terraces of many stadiums, especially those in the industrial midlands and London's working-class districts. The NF found much success attracting official members in football stadiums at these locations by utilizing a variety of recruiting and publicity tactics.

The distribution of newspapers and leafletting became the primary means of inviting new members into the NF fold. The newspapers, which required a small fee for purchase, also provided local branches with an indication of their popularity. Articles in *Bulldog* frequently used paper sales at football matches as the main gauge of community esteem and their impact on local politics. "The new football season has started. Hundreds of thousands of youths are going to see their local teams play every Saturday. It is up to every YNF football fan to get his mates to sell *Bulldog* outside these matches."[33] Newspaper-selling evolved into a contest, supported by the editors, to encourage active recruitment and the dissemination of party messages. One article stated,

[33] *Bulldog* no. 14 (August 1979?), 6.

"Leeds fans bought more than 200 *Bulldogs* every month at home games. Which team will be the best Front team this season?"[34] In the next issue, members responded by declaring their sales numbers and submitting photos for paper publication, several of which proudly displayed young recruits selling the paper directly in front of stadiums' main gates or nearby corners. Chelsea fan Nicholas Barrett reported sales topping 450 copies of *Bulldog* and *NF News* outside matches at Stamford Bridge.[35] Later contests were reported in tables on the *Bulldog* pages.[36] In sum, paper-selling not only served to educate or attract novices, but also provided a gauge of the popular sentiment towards the presence of the movement within local football clubs.

Other recruiting tactics drew on the NF's ability to transgress subcultural divisions among young working-class men in urban areas. Though the 'skinhead' identity and the stereotypes associated with it are usually associated with the movement, the NF also called for a unified anti-immigrant stance to be shared by several alienated youth subcultures in Britain. One letter to the editor from a North London member implored, "The Whites must unite. Skins, punks, herberts, mods and casuals must all stick together against the Race Invasion of Blacks, Asians and Pakis." A petition signed by football supporters of each subcultural movement accompanied the letter, which agreed to stand up against non-white players and spectators in stadiums in northern

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Bulldog* no. 15 (September 1979?), 6. See also issue no. 11 (April 1979?), p. 6 for photographic evidence of leafletting at Elland Road. *NF News* served as the main outlet for the party, the adult-oriented counterpart to *Bulldog*.

[36] See issues no. 20 (January/February 1981?) and no. 28 (June/July 1982).

London, presumably through increased racial abuse and threats.[37] International matches at Wembley stadium also allowed NF supporters from several different parts of the nation to unite, neglecting the partisan loyalties which divided most violent supporters.[38] Recruiting new members at football meant spanning the divisions between subcultural and supporter groups, which if the article was credible, allowed for neo-fascists to be somewhat successful in unifying different working-class identity groups. Neo-fascists again transcended cultural and local identities by appealing to a dichotomized perspective of racial difference, where black players threatened white homogeneity.

Finally, *Bulldog* editors frequently employed a variety of gendered and sexualized images to entice football supporters to join the National Front. In these images, the attraction was not ideology or empathy, but the enticement of sexual interaction and masculine exploits. Popular NF strongholds like West Ham and Chelsea advertised T-shirts adorned with hybrid logos composed of club symbols and NF slogans. The advertisements displayed young women wearing nothing but the T-shirts, standing or sitting in sexually suggestive poses.[39] Editors later combined many of these suggestive photos with an ongoing column called, "R.A.C. [Rock Against Communism] Bird of the Month" photos. The R.A.C. movement, the musical counterpart to the football front, suggested that NF members would have access to "chatting up" young women at NF

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[37] *Bulldog* no. 28 (June/July 1982?), 6.

[38] *Bulldog* no. 8 (October 1978?), 2.

[39] See, for example, *Bulldog* no. 31 (January 1983), 6.

events.[40] Both series of photos suggested the sexual promiscuity of young female members and their accessibility to NF men. In contrast, corresponding images of men as hyper-masculine, aggressive, and capable of violence presented readers with the epitome of successful fringe political members. A T-shirt ad for West Ham NF with a burly skinhead figure sold the idea of power and virility for men willing to participate in football violence.[41] Clearly, NF writers utilized understandings of gender and sexuality to bolster their appeal to men.

Like their recruiting tactics elsewhere, the NF underscored their ability to empathize with the plight of young working-class men, promising to exert political pressure towards bettering their livelihoods. These political promises often took the form of promoting expatriation for immigrants who many white Britons perceived as contributing to high unemployment rates, housing competition, and increased levels of social violence. While extremist groups often articulated their extreme disdain for diaspora Jews, Irish independence, and major political parties, they fundamentally concentrated on the detriments of incorporating migrants into a multicultural Britain. The following quote exhibited the ways in which neo-fascists interconnected football leisure with their contempt for multiracial integration:

> You will have noticed how well the NF have been doing, but why? Much of the success is due to the fact that many of the white youth who buy *NF News* and *Bulldog* at the football grounds, are the whites who come from the bigger inner city areas. The self same areas where the coloured immigrants live and work. So to us whites football is a one day in the week outlet…But for the other six days a week, our youth have to work and live with the coloured immigrants in their area.

[40] *Bulldog* no. 24 (September 1981), 3.

[41] *Bulldog* no. 18 (March/April 1980), 6.

> In those six days white youth have to endure a race-mixing nightmare. A race-mixing Hell where blacks rule the roost at youth clubs, discos, schools and football pitches on council estates…Through the NF selling its papers at football grounds where the inner-city kids flock to every Saturday, the white youth can buy *NF News* and *Bulldog* and are filled with hope for the future. The football front is one of the most important developments of the YNF so far, because finally the white youth have a chance to show loyalty not only to their team, but also their Race and Nation.[42]

The writer revealed the sensationalization of conflict within multicultural integration in Britain customary to neo-fascist ideology, and blamed such disturbances on the influence of migrant workers. The segment also positioned football as an escape from contentious, racially-divided urban environments. Again, the territoriality of public spaces figured in the discussion of immigrant infiltration, with more controlled environments near stadiums as the polar opposite to chaotic inner-city job competition, indicated by the ability to sell neo-fascist papers safely. Finally, overlapping partisan loyalties in football with loyalties to 'Race and Nation' imbued NF membership with masculine ideals of loyalty and national solidarity in the face of imagined racial invasions. Such rhetoric clearly instilled football with a variety of representational conflicts about job competition, housing and racial violence. Football, and the contests over the acceptance of black players, came to represent the multiple social fractures and political contests over multiculturalism extant outside the sport.

An empirical measure of both formal NF recruits and the participation of non-members in these activities was not possible with the present sources. However, early ethnographic work and journalist investigations reveal the ways in which NF discourses

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[42] *Bulldog* no. 18 (March/April 1980), 6.

and football practices influenced non-sanctioned supporters. One thirteen-year old remarked, "It's all right some of 'em up the North Bank shouting out 'National Front', but what they don't remember is that there's coloureds in the football grounds themselves…they don't do no harm to nobody."[43] Such sentiments revealed that while many NF practices such as chanting and saluting could be accepted by other spectators, they did not adopt them without scrutiny. In 1977, in responses to questions about football violence, another fan commented, "I been inside a few times. Last one was for brickin' this Paki. I'm not 100 percent for the NF. But you help out, like. You gotta think, 'We're all here, everyone works, got 'omes here.' Then you see these Asian families just come off the banana boat."[44] Such ambivalence lent support to NF activities, and latent racist attitudes which supporters expressed adopted similar anti-immigrant tones, concerns about housing and employment, and colonial references espoused by NF members. Monolithic stereotypes were labeled onto the unwanted immigrant population, who apparently threatened labor security and the perceived homogeneity of non-black communities. Later anti-racist movements would approach these gaps in allegiance as evidence of neo-fascism's instability and weakness. "For most of them, their racism is not clearly articulated or methodical," wrote one anti-racist writer. "Many of them don't think they are racists at all but they will allow themselves to be drawn so easily into blind, ignorant prejudice by those fascist groups looking to recruit

[43] Quote from a fan named "Colin" in Robins, *We Hate Humans*, 101.

[44] *Ibid*, 109.

new members."[45] Though fans and players alike distinguished between fans involved in the National Front and others, many stood somewhere between alliance and neutrality. One fan remembered his involvement in international football violence by saying, "You've got to show some pride in your team. It's fucking pride. I know two blokes who are in Combat 18 because they believe in the English, no black in the Union Jack and all that. I mean, I'm really there for the football, but I do agree with them."[46] Clearly, the NF did much to inculcate racist values by promoting anti-immigrant and anti-black discourses which non-fascists adopted into their own racial attitudes. The football terraces not only became a site of racial expression but of racial instruction. A teenaged boy told Dave Hill, a prominent journalist, that "I am in a racist organization. From going to Liverpool matches I have come to hate black people."[47]

Contextualizing Neo-fascism in Football: The Centrality of Non-Traditional Political Practice

Neo-fascist practices in football were only a few of several non-traditional political practices which extremist parties used to compensate for their lack of overall success and party funding. Many popular and academic opinions have derided the presence of neo-fascism in football as tangential and unsuccessful: neo-fascists cannot be considered central to the social environment of the sport because they cared little about

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[45] *Fortune's Always Hiding* no. 4 (October/November 1989) 8-9.

[46] Quoted in Nick Lowles, "Far Out with the Far Right," in Mark Perryman, *Hooligan Wars: Causes and Effects of Football Violence* (London: Mainstream Publishing, 2001), 118.

[47] Hill, *Out of His Skin*, 102.

football itself. Instead, neo-fascists merely used football to achieve political ends, and proved unsuccessful in their formal recruiting efforts.[48] Police and government officials also deny their viability as it validates their work against the neo-fascist impulse in Britain.[49] On the contrary, football became a fundamental focus of neo-fascist organizers because most working-class people had at least some interest in football. Furthermore, while their recruiting success cannot be measured empirically, through the medium of football they significantly conditioned the frames of social debate and the terms of conversations about the British social landscape. Football became infused with anti-immigrant and anti-racist expressions and propaganda because neo-fascists used forceful means of disseminating their messages, and because many young working-class men listened to and rearticulated their dogmatic positions. By contextualizing neo-fascist political practices in football and comparing them with other informal means of fringe political campaigning, the centrality of football to neo-fascist goals becomes clear.

In general, without the wider political base and campaigning monies available to traditional political parties, organizers oriented recruiting around the exploitation of social relationships and neighborhood networks. Beyond these networks, neo-fascism relied heavily on cheaper forms of political recruiting, free publicity, and attention-getting tactics to build its support. While formal recruits who agreed to vote the party

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[48] See David Canter, Michael Comber, and David Uzell, *Football in its Place: An Environmental Psychology of Football Grounds* (New York, Routledge, 1989); Lowles, "Far Out with the Far Right," 111-4.

[49] See comments from police in Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, "Racism and Anti-Racism in English Football," in Udo Merkel and Walter Tokorski eds., *Racism and Xenophobia in European Football* (Germany: Meyer and Meyer, 1996).

line were certainly welcomed, the latent ideological framework of neo-fascism relied on building a groundswell of cooperation and agreement from white working-class Britons. Only through the unity of working-class sentiment could the larger goals of expatriation and social exclusions move forward. Neo-fascism also relied heavily on the negation of a variety of 'others' which threatened their viability and around which neo-fascism could build oppositional support: larger political parties, immigrants, police, and the monolithic British state.[50] Football figured strongly into this ideological framework by providing a platform for negation and demonstration, the emergence of black players, and the opportunity to develop ground level political networks through existing associations and social groups within football supportership. Furthermore, the sport came to be more closely identified with working-class spectators and working-class leisure, as well as the growing incidence of violence throughout the 1960s and 1970s, providing a massive recruiting pool.[51]

Outside of football, the NF advocated a host of other informal political practices which allowed them to campaign in a cheap and purposefully controversial manner. Many of these tactics involved violence and territoriality. Most prominently, the NF became known for its marches and rallies, which often provoked anti-fascist responses and frequently devolved into riots. The march at Lewisham in August 13, 1977 marked the height of the NF's popularity and thrust them into the media spotlight as violent

[50] See Fielding, *The National Front*; Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*. On the conspiratorial frameworks of fascism against other parties and the state, see Michael Billig, *Fascists: A Social Psychological View of the National Front* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1978).

[51] See Chapter One.

provocateurs. Anti-fascist and black protesters fought with NF members, despite a heavy police presence, and the fracas cast both the extreme right and the extreme left as cheap instigators. Nonetheless, the NF chose Lewisham specifically to emphasize their territorial dispersion. Knowing that New Cross and the surrounding areas in London had become home to many immigrants and foreign workers, NF organizers sought to reclaim the streets of a formerly white working-class enclave.[52] Marches like that in Lewisham served several ends. First, they invited press attention which furthered the public profile of the NF as threatening, intimidating and ready for aggression. Second, the marches provided an opportunity to confront anti-fascists and black protesters directly in violent encounters, a practice which became central to both neo-fascist and anti-fascist politics. In many cases, this violence could be both anonymous and without juridical consequences. Third, marches and rallies, violent or not, served as a demonstration of their strength in numbers, which could be encouraging to potential voters and new recruits. NF voters also turned out in greater numbers where they marched, and the NF gauged their success through examining attendance at neighborhood rallies.[53] Marches became a standard practice of neo-fascists, and allowed the NF to achieve notoriety and exhibit its vehement distaste for its territorial and ideological enemies.

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[52] The photographic journalism trade magazine entitled *Camerawork* devoted a special issue to press coverage of Lewisham. The issue (Fall 1977) devoted its pages to interviews with journalists and photographers who took pictures of the riots, as well as analysis of their use in major newspapers. The issue imparts several different perspectives on the event, and is an unlikely but excellent source on the day's events. On the premeditated marches in contested public areas, see John Tyndall's comments in the *Daily Mail*, 17 August 1977.

[53] Taylor, *The National Front in English Politics*, 131.

Street violence attempted to achieve the same goals, but lacked the ritualistic manners and exhibitions of achievement embodied in marches and rallies. Attacks by young men on migrants frequently occurred in contested public spaces, and in the case of attacks on Pakistani populations, at local corner markets. For example, in a Wolverhampton court hearing NF member John Spencer told the judge he committed attacks on local Pakistani teenagers and broke windows in Pakistani-owned corner shops: "Wolverhampton is my town. It is sickening to hear it is being invaded by wogs…The Pakis are the worst. They own the shops while the niggers roam the streets."[54] In the face of perceived conspiratorial invasions by foreigners and immigrants, neo-fascists aimed to combat these transgressions through scattered and unorganized attacks on citizens in the streets. Though such attacks often seemed random, they had territorial and racial significance for NF members.

NF recruitment campaigns also utilized flyers and pamphlets as means of disseminating political messages to a wider public. NF members targeted the dole lines, job centers and council housing areas as crucial sites for the deployment of propaganda literature.[55] Most flyers or pamphlets espoused neo-fascist fundamentals like the party's supposedly unique ability to cure unemployment, but others targeted adolescents and children through comics. Members distributed one particularly hateful comic called *Stormer* to local school districts in 1980-1. The comic included an ongoing boy character named "Sambo the Chocolate-coloured Coon" who continually became the subject of

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[54] *Western Daily Press* (Bristol), no date (early 1978?) in Runnymede Collection (hereafter RC) Sub-fonds 6, Box 55, subsection 2.

[55] *Daily Star*, 8 December 1980.

violence, and in one instance was roasted alive on a bonfire by his white playmates.[56] Leafletting against communists became another social practice which emphasized their far right ideology but also claimed territorial control over the area's street political practices. Writers recalled that Andy Till, Spurs NF organizer, "is very concerned with the number of communists who are trying to brainwash Tottenham fans. The Spurs leaflet says it all: 'We don't want any Red filth at [White Hart] Lane. You can help us kick them out by supporting the T.H.F.C.N.F.'"[57] Photographs showing the leafletting activity accompany the article.

As neo-fascism gained popularity in the late 1970s, and the British economy worsened with no end in sight, newspaper selling became the fundamental ingredient of the recruitment campaign, including the distribution campaign deployed around stadium sites. One *NF News* editor wrote on the importance of newspaper distribution, "If we are to be taken seriously in our own communities, we must be able to instruct people of their diminishing rights and answer their questions." *NF News* also launched a program to encourage members to buy surplus papers and distribute them to others in their social networks. They reformulated their papers to further appeal to novices and indoctrinated members. "We hope that you have all carefully read and thought about the outline of our new structure" pleaded NF editors. "*National Front News* and the NF sincerely hope and expect that the vast majority of our subscribers will become NF News Supporters. The National Front is now organized around the newspaper and increasing our circulation and

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[56] See account of the *Daily Mail*, 23 and 24 March 1981.

[57] Tottenham Hotspur Football Club National Front. See *Bulldog* no. 20 (January/February 1981?), 6.

influence is now more important than ever." The column concluded that "the 5 copies of NFN that you will receive each issue can either be sold or left in libraries, buses, etc."[58] With the importance of the newspaper elevated within the party, the ability to sell outside of football stadiums became crucial. Neo-fascists in football not only used football as a place for demonstrating their control and strength through salutes, chants, and abuses against black players. Football and neo-fascism also became linked through the centrality of the newspaper and newspaper-selling as a political practice.

Many of the retold stories on leafletting or paper-selling also hint at the threats of physical confrontation between neo-fascist and anti-fascist political groups. In fact, the ability to sell newspapers on specific corners outside stadiums indicated the control over these physical spaces. Gary Mumford, NF Ealing Branch, wrote, "Every time we sell we get rid of between three and four hundred papers, and we give out hundreds of leaflets. We may have an advantage at Chelsea because the Reds just don't have the bottle to come up and oppose us, so we sell in groups of two or three usually."[59] Though Mumford clearly meant to convey his own accomplishments, his comments also suggested that physical confrontations often occurred when selling papers outside of matches. The right to sell newspapers in specific territories close to the football environment was often violently challenged by anti-fascist groups who operated within the same informal political arenas on the ground. Thus, selling political propaganda became not only a means of recruiting and ideological indoctrination, but also evidence

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[58] *National Front News*, Editorial Bulletin, no. 86 (undated). Found in RC MDRXT/6/02/B, Box 55, Folder 4.

[59] *Bulldog* no. 16 (November/December 1979), 6.

of violent, negotiated interaction between neo-nationalist and anti-fascist political organizations. Territorial wars for key corners outside of stadiums developed into a main site of violence between anti-fascists and NF members.

Inasmuch as selling newspapers at football games compares with the other standard fringe political strategies, football matches also provided another means of participating in publicity stunts and conflicts with mainstream media outlets over party legitimacy. Demonstrations of strength in numbers and collective racist abuse, often organized through rallying calls in *Bulldog*, served to build public attention for their activities and gain reputation within mainstream newspapers.[60] The most prominently public activity which capitalized on mainstream media interest in the movement was the 'League of Louts'. As part of an anti-NF campaign, the *Daily Star* established the 'league' to display the dangerous accumulation of NF members in football.[61] *Bulldog* editors capitalized on the opportunity, establishing the league as an ongoing competition for supporter groups participating in high levels of racial abuse and displays of party paraphernalia. Later known as the "Racist League," it continued for at least four seasons. On one occasion, Newcastle NF members vaulted to the top of the league by irritating a local Asian community relations officer by chanting "National Front, National Front," and "Geordies Are White." The chants forced a condemning public statement by Hari Shukla, which paradoxically broadened the public effectiveness of the demonstration in

[60] For example, see letters to the editor in *Bulldog* no. 39 (January/February 1984?), 8.

[61] See *Bulldog* no. 21 (March/April 1981?), p. 5. The *Daily Mail's* 'league' may be derivative of earlier fictive contests focused on hooliganism and football violence rather than racism. In 1974, the *Daily Mirror* established the "League of Shame" to report on arrest records at different stadiums. See Steve Frosdick and Peter Marsh and Steve Frosdick, *Football Hooliganism* (Portland: Willan Publishing, 2005), 117.

London and Newcastle. In the same issue, editors lauded local Newcastle supporters for distributing leaflets for an away match at Chelsea. The leaflets issued a rallying cry for more NF and racist activity to prove "that Newcastle are the top NF team. The *Bulldog* always has Chelsea top of the 'League of Louts' but now is our chance to put ourselves at the top of the league." The editors encouraged Chelsea supporters by noting they "are still the most racist fans in London."[62] Such antics encouraged letters to the editor which boasted of NF activities at different grounds, and pleaded for recognition of their defense of local territories.[63] More importantly, the editors at *Bulldog* exploited the publicity that other major news organs granted them, developing recognized competitive assemblies that engaged in frequent, repetitive demonstrations of racial abuse.

NF members also used international matches as platforms for displaying their hyper-nationalism and loyalty to white Britain and white English players. In particular, the media found these international incidents the most disturbing, not only for their gravity, but also for the sensationalization of the 'hooligan' type wreaking havoc on peaceful continental environments.[64] NF football supporters prided themselves on their international exhibitions of racist conduct, and frequently boasted of the coverage their activities received in national papers.[65] Though they embraced the publicity, NF organizers challenged media representations or conclusions which they felt falsified their

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[62] *Bulldog* no. 40 (March/April 1984?), 8.

[63] See *Ibid*, 7.

[64] See Chapter Two. For early academic treatment, see John Williams, Eric Dunning and Patrick Murphy, *Hooligans Abroad* (London: Routledge, 1984). See also the proclamations of race riots at international matches in *Bulldog* issues, especially no. 23 (August 1981) and no. 28 (June/July 1982?).

[65] For example, see *Bulldog* no. 19 (May/June 1980?), 18.

positions or compromised their esteem. In 1985, as investigations into the Heysel stadium disaster involving Liverpool fans in Brussels unfolded, ties to NF members who participated in the violence leading to thirty-nine deaths emerged. The National Front filed a complaint with the national Press Council to object to the connection between the NF and the tragedy made by the *Sunday Mirror*.[66] In 1982, they filed a similar grievance against BBC programming which also identified NF members as somewhat guilty for increasing levels of street violence.[67] Neither complaint forced a correction, but they revealed the NF's desire to counter negative publicity. As the NF came under public scrutiny for excessive violence, they increased their attempts to protect their reputation as a legitimate political force, though most publicity proved good publicity for a political group without the financial means to create their own.

In part because of the Heysel tragedy, but also because of the success of media and anti-fascist watchdog campaigns like *Searchlight*, the NF elite and other neo-nationalist fringe leadership groups moved towards abandoning their ties to sport from the mid-1980s forward.[68] Despite increased public attention in the early 1980s, the party lost ground and suffered from a series of internal splits within its leadership. As a result, many leaders shifted directions, dropping their formal self-adoption as 'fascist' and ridding themselves of overt connections to street and football violence.

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[66] The Press Council, Press Release No. W12483/1913, in RC Subfonds 6, Box 55, Folder 1.

[67] See "Complaint by National Front: Summary of Adjudication" in RC Subfonds 6, Box 55, Folder 1.

[68] See Lowles, "Far Out with the Far Right," 112-3.

This divestment of sport contradicted earlier neo-fascist commitments to football, not only as a campaigning front but also as a tool for social and physical development of young members. As has been shown, football played a central role in NF recruiting. In a broader sense, football also played a central role in the education and training of NF youth. John Tyndall, head of the National Front in the 1970s and later founder of the British National Party in 1982, promoted the development of white members' physicality and discipline through football. The YNF established their own youth leagues and five-a-side tournaments to encourage young NF members to participate. Tyndall even attended some matches to lend his support to adolescent recruits and hand out the trophy named in his honor for the champions of the London league.[69] Tyndall commented, "I am very glad to see that the YNF is not all cold politics. Social and recreational activities are very important in capturing the interest of the young, and it is most refreshing to see that the YNF shows so much initiative in these fields."[70] Older adolescents also established NF squads which competed in local leagues, with attention-grabbing team names like "Rule Britannia".[71] "Good local publicity was received in West Bromwich when YNF football team 'New Federation' entered the League," *Bulldog* boasted. "Once again there were screams of protest from local Reds."[72] Such teams not only built virile young members, but also became a promotional act on the local level. NF local squads even fought with

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[69] See *Bulldog* no. 8 (June 1978), 4.

[70] *Bulldog* no. 11 (February/March 1979?), 2.

[71] *Bulldog* no. 19 (May/June 1980?), 6.

[72] *Bulldog* no. 16 (November/December 1979), 6.

other ethnically-based teams, and boasted of engaging in another "race riot", this time at local amateur football.[73] Until the mid-1980s, the NF elite supported these activities as they did the widespread campaign to win recruits at professional matches. Local football played a central role, not only in its ability to attract young working-class men, but also to develop their physical discipline and develop social ties with other NF teens.

Nonetheless, as a more widespread directional change towards formal politics and away from informal street practices, both the National Front and its successor, the British National Party (BNP), moved away from the compounding negative publicity inspired by football violence and overt racial abuse. After brief successes at the ballot boxes in the late 1970s, formal challenges to established political parties through parliamentary and local council elections failed miserably throughout the Conservative administration (1979-1997). Several key neo-fascist factions turned away from the violent political practices which served them well in their rise to prominence, opting for a formal political strategy that catered not to youth, but to established voters. This turn required divesting themselves of responsibility for football violence, especially after constant media attention made football "hooliganism" a nationally disparaged phenomenon. The 1985 Heysel stadium disaster, lamented by the press as the most fateful outcome of continuous football violence to date, became a key turning-point in neo-fascists' approach to football and football recruiting. John Tyndall had already turned on *Bulldog* after he left the NF to begin the British National Party in 1981. Tyndall called the 'Racist League', "a

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[73] *Bulldog* no. 14 (August 1979?), 6.

juvenile pursuit that is wholly counter-productive to the cause of racial nationalism," and derided the *Bulldog* paper he once valorized as a "moronic kindergarten magazine".

In response to accusations of NF and BNP involvement in the Brussels tragedy, Tyndall wrote an editorial that first denied the accusations, then belittled aggressive football violence and called on young nationalists to rechannel their energies: "Nevertheless, the idea that either the NF or the BNP could have whipped up the violence in Brussels, or indeed had any profit in doing so, belongs only to the warped minds of leader writers of the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily* Star…The healthy red-blooded young male has, as he has always had, a great fund of aggressive energy." Tyndall continued by criticizing British government leadership: "A disciplined society, inspired by the correct goals, will find a useful outlet for that aggressive energy." He also noted that, "it is perhaps to be expected that the upholders of the old system of society, when confronted with the consequences of their own misrule, should seek to lay the blame, not on themselves and the institutions and values which they have defended across the decades, but on those who challenge them and who advocate an alternative system of society." In his final defense, he remarked, "By some weird contortion of reasoning and logic, the Brussels tragedy was *our* fault, not theirs!"[74] In the face of public allegations, Tyndall not only used the Heysel incident to solidify his dissociation from violent political practices in football, but also to reassert neo-nationalist support for principles of discipline, social order, and adolescent masculine virility. In a transparent twist of phrase, Tyndall also criticized the government for failing to provide outlets for

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[74] *Spearhead* no. 201 (July 1985), 4-6.

supposedly inherent masculine aggressions. Tyndall failed to address the basic concerns about NF or BNP involvement at Heysel, instead condemning the state. After Tyndall's departure, a concerted effort to remove associations with fascism also inspired the National Front to divest itself of ties to football violence. In the party's official political magazine, an unnamed editor remembered the events of the 1980s: "The British people started to associate the National Front with trouble, with hooliganism and with neo-Nazism." On the possible appeal to a wider audience without football politics, they added, "While they like our policies they would not support a violent, unpleasant and incompetent organization which also contained a small but significant number of neo-Nazis. The membership of the National Front learned its lesson: we got rid of the hooligans, we became competent and efficient."[75] Clearly, harmful publicity of football violence and its neo-fascist associations encouraged the far right to abandon confrontational politics and overt racial abuse at football publicly. While these same groups forged their early popularity through a variety of street political practices, including a widespread football recruiting campaign aimed at young working-class men, football violence eventually tarnished their formal political recognition and hampered their electoral success.

Clearly, neo-fascists established the football environment as a key site of recruiting and expressions of racial abuse. Like other publicity stunts and territorial demonstrations, neo-fascist displays and paper-selling at football matches provided an inexpensive campaigning tool that promoted its own goals by drawing on existing social

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[75] *Vanguard* no. 40 (Autumn 1993), 12.

relationships and shared ideologies between young working-class men. As the main far right movements dropped their affiliations with fascism and backpedaled on their involvement in football in the 1980s, many members and other right wing movements continued to demonstrate in the football arena well into the 1990s without the party elite's supervision. As one *Searchlight* writer has concluded, the public denunciations of football activity allowed far right movements to appear blameless while still reaping the benefits of ongoing neo-fascist and neo-nationalist practices in football well into the 1990s.[76] Rather than disregarding the presence of neo-nationalism within football, this evidence reveals that neo-fascists utilized the football arena not only to spread ideological messages and mount demonstrations against successful black footballers, but also to recruit and gain publicity among young working-class men.

The Response of Anti-Fascist Political Groups

Grassroots political movements organized around a challenge to neo-fascism frequently mirrored their forms of practice and suffered from similar internal fractures. The Anti-Nazi League (ANL) became the most well-known anti-fascist organization, with a popular political magazine, *Searchlight*, which circulated not only within the group but also reached a small public readership as well. ANL linked closely with the Socialist Workers' Party from 1977-81, a larger Trotskyist group frustrated by the reforms of Labour, until the SWP cast ANL off for their violent political practices. Another influential anti-fascist body, the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF)

[76] Lowles, "Far Out with the Far Right," 120.

prided themselves on fighting racism as well as fascism, and split from the ANL over some leaders' perceptions that the battle against racism within Britain could not be limited to fighting neo-fascist politics. Other smaller socialist factions and cooperative campaigns like Anti-Fascist Action (AFA), Red Action, Workers Power and the anarchist group Direct Action Movement contributed to the multiplicity of anti-fascist viewpoints in Britain's fringe political environment.

The efforts of anti-fascist groups, and in particular the *Searchlight* publication, created much of the neo-fascist demand for a public denunciation of football violence and terrace abuse. *Searchlight* established itself as the leading anti-fascist watchdog magazine. It consistently exposed far-right movements attempting to operate in secrecy and laid plain their factional turmoil and racist ideologies. Their chief aim was to fight neo-fascist propaganda with exposure, rhetoric, and informed arguments. The editors also frequently published inflammatory articles by the Far Right or conservative press, and challenged the media to downplay neo-fascist activity. Above all, the magazine emphasized violent crime, retelling narratives of black victimization and neo-fascist criminality. It became the main venue of anti-fascist propaganda, and in the early 1980s, consistently began to monitor neo-fascist activities in football.

Early international episodes troubled *Searchlight* editors and demanded that they address the growing media frenzy surrounding football violence and its neo-fascist associations. After the Heysel disaster, the magazine published a special issue entitled, "Terror on the Terraces: The National Front Thugs Who Foul Up Football," which published a series of findings on their investigation into the topic. "All over Britain,

gangs of NF thugs have latched onto the more aggressive groups of supporters…Their aim is to recruit members and supporters," noted the introductory column. "They promote the nauseating racist chants and nazi salutes which are now commonplace at our grounds and which give such deep offence to genuine sports fans." The issue exposed several individual cases of neo-fascist football violence, and criticized the 'League of Louts' which encouraged racial abuse of black players. The editors also reprinted *Bulldog* articles which boasted of international demonstrations at England's abroad matches. *Searchlight* noted, "Away internationals have a special fascination for the Front. Fighting on English terraces may pass the time, but for NF yobs putting the boot in on 'inferior' foreigners combines violence with flying the flag." Throughout the issue, violent photographs of the NF in action accompany the articles, most of which aimed to both deplore and expose the NF's activities in football.[77]

Outside of the propaganda and media wars, anti-fascists challenged neo-fascism on the streets as well, mirroring the centrality of violent confrontation and aggressive political and territorial negotiation in neo-fascist circles. Anti-fascist sympathizers opposed NF marches and paper-selling because they represented influence over the physical geography of local neighborhoods and football clubs. Anti-fascists also extolled the bloody march at Lewisham as a pioneering moment in their own aggressive campaigns against the NF. The day's events became part of the oral tradition of anti-fascism, and several anti-fascist memoirs instill the riots with heroic characters and

[77] *Searchlight* special issue, "Terror on Our Terraces," (Autumn 1985).

momentum-building fervor.[78] Anti-fascists also emphasized confrontations on the street. *Red Action*, the newspaper of the movement by the same name, remarked, "Nazis need to control the streets. If they can do this they can not only influence people faced with mass unemployment, but they can attack ethnic minorities and create a nest of racial tension that can tear a community to pieces."[79] Many anti-fascists worried about the personal consequences and violent outcomes neo-nationalists instigated by dominating corners within contentious neighborhoods.

The NF's growing influence in football troubled anti-fascists not only because of the territorial implications, but also because it challenged football as a unified working-class tradition. After discussing how the sport became a working-class staple in the 1950s and 1960s, a 1982 editorial called on anti-fascists to reclaim football from neo-fascist infiltrators because it provided a locale for safe and admirable youth rebellion amongst working-class adolescents. On football in the 1970s: "It became the natural arena for young working class kids to achieve the success and admiration from friends denied to them by soul destroying work and life style." Whereas leftist groups had, "condemned young football fans as mindless, moronic hooligans," the author lamented that neo-fascists embraced the insubordination of young working-class rebels towards the state. He concluded: "No one would try to pretend that the football terraces are full of committed revolutionary socialists. There are cowards, braggards and bullies, and racism and sexism abound." But, "Football fans, skinheads, punk rockers, all will be the older

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[78] See, for example, *The Anti-Nazi League: A Critical Examination*, a resistance pamphlet produced by the Colin Roach Centre (1995). In British Library, Main Collection, (hereafter BL): YD.2006a.8935.

[79] *Red Action* no. 1 (February 1982), 1.

working class of tomorrow. They will not be the only people needed to build a working class movement, but they will certainly be a most significant and enthusiastic part of it."[80] Some anti-fascists bemoaned lost opportunities to engage in similar recruiting tactics, while reasserting the cultural significance of football supportership to working-class men.

Many anti-fascists opted for aggressive retaliation against their political rivals. Though some expressed concerns that violent politics emulated their adversaries, many anti-fascists saw violence as an essential characteristic of leftist fringe politics that stressed immediate action. "We are proud of the image of being able to back up our words with actions, but we have been accused of being no better than the fascists, a squad of 'macho boot-boys," wrote one member.[81] Despite these reservations, the use of violence to combat neo-fascism triumphed. K. Bullstreet contemplated the use of political violence in his memoirs, remembering his service as essential to the protection of local communities. "By crushing the fascists at an early stage I think it is reasonable to assume that Anti-Fascist Action has prevented numerous racist attacks and even saved lives," he wrote. "For if the fascists were given the chance to freely march, sell their papers, and appear as a respectable political force they would just grow and grow." The man also confessed his aversion to the use of violence: "I am not a violent person by nature. I do not enjoy the idea of walking up to strangers and punching them, even if they are fascists. It's just something that needs to be done." The memoirs frequently mention bust-ups at football matches, where even a verbal lashing could prove effective:

[80] *Red Action* no. 3 (May 1982), article entitled "Grounds for Rebellion."

[81] *Red Action* no. 1 (February 1982), 1.

"I really admire those people who stand up to them alone at places like football grounds…These verbal put-downs, often with passers-by looking on, are just as humiliating to a fascist as a kick in the bollocks."[82] The constant verbal and physical confrontations were perceived not only as necessary, but as educative to a wider public who supposedly viewed the outcomes of such conflicts as representative of their political validity. Both neo-fascists and anti-fascists perceived violent victories as political ones.

Other anti-fascists echoed Bullstreet's ambivalent sentiments on football and political violence. "The political violence we were forced to employ was not enjoyable. It was viewed as a necessary evil. Its role was to demoralize the enemy and to create a space for socialists and anti-racists to work in," remembered one anti-fascist.[83] Contrary to popular perceptions that both groups engaged in violence for violence's sake, anti-fascists expressed distaste for their participation in violence. Despite his displeasure at engaging in violence, Bullstreet and others felt that unchecked neo-fascist provocation would lead to more attacks in the community. He wrote: "If they go unchallenged they soon feel that they 'own' the local streets, ie that it is their manor, and that mentality encourages them into more attacks."[84]

Anti-fascists also perceived that aggressive street conflicts at paper-selling sites outside football grounds or at marches could be as appealing to young men as the

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[82] K. Bullstreet, *Bash the Fash: Anti-Fascist Recollections, 1984-93* (London: Kate Sharpley Library, 2001), 1-2. BL: YD.2005.b.1768. Obviously, the name "Bullstreet" is most likely a fabricated surname meant to protect the author's confidentiality and subtly promote his street credentials.

[83] *The Anti-Nazi League: A Critical Examination*, 13.

[84] *Bash the Fash*, Chapter Three.

opportunities for violence neo-fascism offered. One anti-fascist recalled that in the late 1970s, "The image of aggressive, confrontational street politics which the SWP leadership encouraged led to a massive influx of young working class males and females." The movement's emphasis on direct action presented a militant alternative to, "the arrogance and political snobbery of these self-proclaimed professional revolutionaries," referring to the SWP and Labour reformists.[85] Many frequently showed disdain for pacifist anti-fascism. Bullstreet confirmed that the Direct Action Movement sought to separate itself from the idea of liberal reform. "It is also satisfying to be doing something really useful instead of arguing about political theory or dreaming about utopia."[86] At times, anti-fascist literature reflected as much contempt for the broken promises of postwar socialism as the threatening alternatives of neo-fascist movements. Like neo-fascism, they capitalized on young men and women willing to participate in violent politics.

While many of their attacks on neo-fascism involved infiltrating meetings or combat at marches and rallies, contesting the sites of paper-selling and leafletting at football matches also illustrated anti-fascists' territoriality. As neo-fascist leafletting at football began to emerge in 1977, the ANL responded with a campaign to counter the NF's message. Peter Hain, an ANL organizer, commented: "We are involved at the moment in an instant rearguard battle to project a counter-view at the grass-roots level, through leafletting at Millwall and other places." He hoped to expand the campaign to

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[85] *The Anti-Nazi League: A Critical Examination*, 4-5.

[86] *Bash the Fash*, 4.

other locales as, "It's an important issue for football with young black players coming through in the game." The ANL also convinced prominent managers Brian Clough of Nottingham Forest and Jack Charlton of Sheffield Wednesday to lend their support to the short-lived campaign in hopes of bettering its public profile.[87] Importantly, the emphasis on leafletting at football matches revealed the perception that the NF's message could be negated or rendered innocuous because of the ANL's opposite efforts. Like violent confrontations, leafletting was a direct action, quick and cheap, which could address the weekly activities of the Front.

Searchlight also emphasized the paper battles that unfolded in the football arena. The magazine disclosed the football victories that *Bulldog* claimed and offset them with stories of arrests and convictions. "Grounds where the NF are active are particular targets of NF paper sellers, who peddle the inflammatory poison which provokes so much of the racist abuse later heard on the terraces," wrote one editor. Other articles lamented the intimidating NF paper sellers outside of specific stadiums like Stamford Bridge, and extended one club's threat to pursue charges against NF crews which superimposed their insignias onto club logos for T-shirts and stickers.[88] The ANL also emphasized the connection between violence and the presence of NF papers and leaflets, promoting the idea that where papers could be sold the NF could have free rein. "Leaders of the National Front would have the public believe that the presence of nazi leafletters and newspaper sellers at football matches is in no way connected to the violence and

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[87] In *Morning Star*, 29 December 1977.

[88] Special issue, "Terror on Our Terraces," 6.

hooliganism which takes place at soccer grounds. It is an argument they find impossible to back up when those very leafletters are brought before the courts." The article mentioned several NF members brought to trial under the Public Order Act in both England and Scotland for breaching the peace and instigating fights with others.[89] The ANL accentuated the NF's violence, noting that papers gave evidence of territorial control which could lead to more attacks on community members and supporters walking the streets before a match. They lamented that paper-selling often went uncontested, not only because NF ideas made it into young men's hands, but also because anti-fascists had failed to challenge them. Like neo-fascists, anti-fascists developed the idea of paper-selling and contests for paper-selling at football sites as central to the negotiation of local geography.

Despite all of these attempts to challenge the growing incidence of NF demonstrations and assert their own territorial claims, most anti-fascist movements failed to develop a capable *anti-racist* agenda through football. Most anti-fascist movements emphasized that neo-fascists divided the working-class rather than that they threatened the livelihood and prosperity of black or Asian life experiences. The numerous anti-fascist serials and memoirs valorized their own aggressive challenges to neo-fascists instead of professing strong desires to battle racism or protect black lives. Violent politics dominated, where black and Asian families could be protected in the abstract through the paradoxical challenge of meeting violence with more violence. In addition, the anti-fascist ideological platform was extremely limited in scope. Incensed by the

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[89] Ibid, 3.

rhetoric against Jews, Asians and blacks in Britain, anti-fascists focused on the fascist associations within neo-fascism, illuminating the connections between British neo-fascists and other continental fascist movements. Targeting recent derivations of fascism proved easier than exploring the racisms inherent in British imperial ideology. Anti-fascists could mobilize against a familiar British enemy without confronting other constructions of racial difference in postwar British society. In sum, by underscoring both violence and fascism, anti-fascists failed to recognize or protect the multiple, diverse experiences of non-white lives in 1970s Britain.

The left's determination to win back football supporters from the influence of neo-fascism reflects their emphasis on class unity over eliminating racisms. It has already been noted that anti-fascist movements brooded over the lost opportunities to capitalize on the growing estrangement of young working-class men. Labour sympathizers too worried about the composition of terrace environments. One Labour publication commented on football grounds: "Increasingly they have become concentrations of frustration and socially disaffected feeling. As such they offer ripe recruiting opportunities for the far right." The writer added that,

> If we are to combat it I would suggest the terrace areas a good place to start. It is at these grounds that working class kids are to be found along with Nazis in increasing numbers. And it is at these sort of places that we in the labour movement must be seen to be providing the alternatives. We are in danger of breeding a very violent and ultimately disaffected generation.[90]

Members of the labour movement expressed anxieties about the divisions that neo-fascism caused to the success of working-class politics. Not only did neo-fascism create

[90] "Putting the Boot In," *Labour Weekly*, 8 May 1981.

a threatening alternative to the left, but also jeopardized the supposed harmony brought about by Labour's postwar social democratic promises. By exposing the ongoing alienation of working-class supporters and the social divisions violent conduct reflected, the battle between neo-fascism and anti-fascism menaced attempts at working-class solidarity. These divisions troubled many factions on the left, from the official Labour party to factional anti-fascist movements.

Such an emphasis on unifying working-class men obfuscated the harmful experiences and racial abuses that non-white men and women faced on a daily basis. Focusing on violent politics and rectifying class divisions betrayed the anti-racist promises of the anti-fascist factions. This was as true within the football environment as it was in other arenas. Anti-fascist publications focused on the racial abuses perpetrated at football matches only inasmuch as they reiterated the baseness of their political rivals. Demonstrations like throwing bananas or chanting served as evidence of their adversaries' commitment to fascist principles, not as experiences which should be challenged because of their racial and postcolonial significance.
The fact that black players and black citizens alike faced lived experiences of abuse and violence proved only a peripheral cause of political action. Approaching neo-fascism through aggressive anti-fascist agendas concealed and ignored the ongoing experiences of racism, both within and outside of football.

Advocating street level violence and aggressive confrontations with neo-fascists also stressed that violent activities could be alleviated through the use of more suppressive violence. This conclusion reflected the state's approach to rowdy football

spectatorship and partisan violence in the late 1960s and 1970s, and fed the machoism of gendered debates and challenges to racism. Like the Home Office and Department of the Environment, anti-fascist political movements adopted aggression as the status quo. The mutual antagonisms between neo-fascists and anti-fascists engendered a reciprocating violent environment, and failed to ameliorate hostilities and polarization within fragmented social communities. Instead, violence from both sides encouraged the media and the public to view football and fringe politics as an unwanted marriage, marred by the excitability and immaturity of working-class youth from both sides of the political spectrum. Not only did this emphasis obscure the experiences of black lives. It also promoted the illogical and impossible assumption that the cure for violent social interaction can be achieved through the endorsement of hostile street conflict.

Conclusions

Neo-fascist discourse about wider social concerns with immigration, struggles for jobs and housing, and race riots conditioned the social debates which occurred within football. Fascist organizations utilized the football environment to disseminate their ideological messages through a variety of political practices like chanting, leafletting and selling newspapers, changing football stadiums into sites of racist instruction. These practices overlapped with territorial concerns about black and immigrant infiltration into public spaces and city centers, especially football stadiums. The football milieu also provided a platform for recruiting and publicity stunts, which became fundamental practices, along with marches and rallies, that attempted to demonstrate party strength

and provided opportunities for enacting racial abuse and provoking territorial violence. Football stadiums presented neo-fascists with a working-class constituency already versed in violent conduct, and often alienated by British society and politics. Anti-fascists lamented their appeal and responded with their own propaganda campaigns. The battles over paper-selling at locations outside stadiums became a chief point of conflict between neo-fascists and anti-fascists, and must be recognized as a fundamental form of fringe political practice in the 1970s. Anti-fascists accepted aggression and territorial violence as a necessary evil, promoting mutually reciprocating violent environments around football stadiums. Their negation of neo-fascist political messages served not to reject their claims, but to bolster them by accepting the standard forms of political practice: violence, aggression, and territoriality. Though they met neo-fascists with direct action, anti-fascists failed to understand the nuances of neo-fascists' racial and postcolonial meanings, instead simplifying their political focus on their enemies' fascist associations. Above all, anti-fascists worried about neo-fascist infiltration and appropriation of the working-class sport *par excellence*, as well as how their appeal could divide the working-class. Leftist movements expressed apprehensions about the future of the movement when predominantly white young-working class men attacked each other and their black counterparts. Their focus on violence also echoed earlier state programs to eliminate social violence in the football realm by increasing the oppressive counteractions meant to deter it.

The anti-fascist concentration on fighting fascism explains the long delay in establishing a more focused anti-racist campaign in football. While racial abuse and neo-

fascist demonstrations emerged more frequently in the mid-1970s, a consistent anti-racist campaign in football did not gain traction until the late 1980s. For nearly two decades, most football clubs, state agencies, spectators, and the public ignored the growing incidence of racial abuse directed at black players and spectators. The next chapter will explore how and why the football anti-racist movement emerged, as well as its connections to its anti-fascist predecessors.

Chapter Seven- Ten Years Too Late:
Racism and Anti-Racism in Football, 1986-98.

In 1994, at the height of the anti-racist campaign in British football, one fanzine editorial read as follows: "The logos and slogans denouncing racism at matches look and sound great, but are ten years behind the times. The time to really stand up and shout was in the seventies/early eighties…The majority of those who verbally abused black players have changed their tune with the emergence of black players throughout the country." The author concluded, "Acceptance comes with integration and there can be no denying there is a totally different mood to that of ten years ago, and before."[1] The quote revealed that despite the ongoing efforts of anti-fascist militants, overt expressions of racial abuse within the football environment did not subside until the early 1990s, as widespread public, grassroots, and institutional movements rose to challenge the phenomena. Importantly, many felt the activist consensus proved at least a decade behind the emergence of football racism. As evidence in this chapter will show, both fan groups and agencies of the British government capitalized on the opportunity to tackle racism in football through the creation of a broadly educative and aggressive campaign against overt racisms at football matches. As a peaceful multicultural integration became the goal of many British politicians in the 1990s, the development of anti-racism in football became vital to the promotion of harmonious race relations. Though successful in reducing the incidence of fascist demonstrations and explicit racist conduct, many of the

[1] Article entitled "Ten Years Too Late," from the fanzine *Two Sevens,* reprinted in *Our Day Will Come: Celtic and Manchester United Fanzine* no. 13 (Summer 1994?).

grassroots political organizations targeting football racism established continuities with aggressive violence and self-policing tactics advocated by the British state against football violence decades earlier. Following the lead of their anti-fascist predecessors, many anti-racist movements in the late 1980s and early 1990s oversimplified articulations of racial integration and anti-racial messages, developing anti-racism in football into another struggle for the sanitization of football and the permeation of public order. In doing so, they obscured how fans integrated local, national and racial meanings into football spectatorship, reinventing football consumption with little reference to spectators' political and social attachments to the sport or black players' lived experiences of racism.

Inasmuch as the public's ongoing anxieties about football violence expanded to include racisms within football, the state's promotion of anti-violence grew to cover anti-racism in the last fifteen years. After a groundswell of support for anti-racist initiatives from fanzines and grassroots supporters' groups, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the government agency charged with maintaining peaceful multiculturalism and eliminating discrimination, matched their ambition with a state-supported anti-racist campaign in football. The massive publicity blitz succeeded in that it brought attention to the problem and made discourses about racism in British society more visible and accessible. Despite its lack of a recognized moral entrepreneur like Denis Howell, the campaign did pursue anti-racist moral education through the medium of football. However, several problematic historical developments emerged from this anti-racist expansion. Though not always intentional, the movement's founders established

continuities with earlier anti-violence promotions and the anti-fascist movement. The anti-racist canvass entailed two interwoven approaches. The first approach, advocated by the CRE, the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA) and regional anti-racist initiatives, endorsed football as the public location for anti-racist education. In this arena, football's representation of the genteel nation, like in earlier campaigns, could not be tarnished by the presence of racial abuse and discrimination in an increasingly multicultural Britain. The second approach, carried out by local supporters and fanzines, promoted aggressive intimidation against bigoted supporters and a self-policing atmosphere maintained by local fans. These spectator associations were often affiliated with Anti-Fascist Action (AFA), the predominant anti-fascist group remaining at the end of the century. Both approaches drew on the need for public order and the elimination of a disruptive element in Britain's national sport. However, each group upheld their vision of the football environment in different ways. While anti-racist institutional programs engaged in a publicity campaign that aimed to once again sanitize football culture, grassroots supporters contributed by violently challenging unwanted racist activity on matchdays.

The anti-racist debate in football, despite its relative successes, produced a number of unfavorable consequences. First, the adoption of aggression and violence again discouraged women from participating in both the consumption of football and in supporter-based anti-racist campaigns. While women already faced challenges in becoming welcome spectators, the masculine tone of football terraces was emphasized by the promotion of belligerence within stadiums. While concerns about racial difference

escalated, anti-racist movements failed to recognize the construction of gender exclusions and the creation of hypermasculine environments in football. Second, the focus on anti-racism concealed larger debates about class unity and Britishness which proceeded from the conflicts between fascists and anti-fascists in the 1970s. Inasmuch as the debates about football's purpose stressed the "racial problem", they obscured the ongoing fractures in class politics. Moreover, the anti-racist programme used sport to bolster the emblematic image of the nation and a fictively peaceful multiculturalism. Third, anti-racists imagined a separate sphere of relations, where football could be extracted from its historical and political context, and treated for its ignominious ills. This approach to racism neglected the origins of discontent within British society, and failed to address the ongoing anxieties about multicultural integration which troubled young working-class men. These methods encouraged oversimplifications in addressing both the origins of racisms and means to address them. Finally, with an early emphasis on continuing the fight against fascism, anti-racist initiatives defined specific roles for 'racist' and 'anti-racist', defined by specific behaviors and codes of conduct. Certain practices became codified and reified within these roles, which were meant to be learned within the sport and taught outside of it. The blatant demonstrations of racial abuse perpetrated earlier by fascist movements—most often chanting, verbal abuse, and banana-throwing—became defined as 'racist' while aggressively challenging such behaviors became the work of 'anti-racist' supporters. Such behaviors lost much of their political significance in this era. As a result, the anti-racist movement often manifested as a vacuous, behavioral-based approach to combating racism which removed racist activity from its local and

national contexts. All of these oversimplifications mystified the historical and social significance of racism and the deleterious effects of experiences of racism for black players.

Reasserting the continuities between football fan cultures of the 1960s and 1970s and the emergence of racisms within football spectating transgresses several trends within other studies of football and racism. In sociological circles, a recent trend has emerged which attempts to disconnect football "hooliganism" from football racism, and, in particular, political fascist movements, largely in effort to understand how racisms have become more subtle and less distinguishable within contemporary football.[2] These academic investigations often double as examinations of the effects of local policy and attempt to create more immediate directives for football anti-racist organizations. I am sympathetic to these approaches, especially where they succeed in discovering the nuanced manifestations of racial discrimination within spectating cultures, ownership and management, and their contextual connections to British society at large. However, the historical roots of contemporary racisms still need to be studied in their contexts of emergence, where historicization and contextualization can reveal their connections to other constructs of power and forms of social disruption. This chapter departs from previous studies on football and racism by engaging series of written sources and images rather than ethnographic or survey-based research. This allows for a historical approach which analyzes change over time and looks for larger and broader continuities, contextual

[2] See Les Back, Tim Crabbe, and Jon Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Multiculturalism and Identity in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001); Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2001).

change in football culture, and the articulations of racial difference in postwar British society.

My goal is not to re-assert the authority of the so-called 'racist/hooligan couplet', but to question the assumptions behind it in effort to imagine new approaches to the complex of racism, exclusion, and violence which pervaded football from the 1970s to the mid-1990s. I do not wish to simply reduce football racism to a form of anti-social behavior, but to understand how environments where anti-social behavior reigned created spaces where racial abuse and racial violence could be perpetuated, as well as how fans responded to these new expressions of racist anti-social behavior. These demonstrations and attitudes often included specific racial and political content as young working-class men reasserted their position within the contested social landscape of postcolonial Britain. Further, we must recognize that several moral arguments and political discourses, along with several anti-racist organizations, did reduce racism to a form of anti-social behavior. Interrogating this conflation and the moral enemies anti-racist organizations created through this approach will show how moral arguments and anti-racist education have been deployed through sport in Britain. Examining the continuities between the state and public's response to racism and their responses to earlier forms of football disorder reveals how the moral repertoire of Britishness expanded as well. Several agencies of the state, football clubs, and sectors of the public constituted new anti-racist messages in football which developed upon the prescriptions for social order and the maintenance for control developed in anti-violence messages of the 1960s and 1970s. These new prescriptions also perpetuated the violent nature of football

environments. Such messages proposed anti-racism, itself a complex of contradictory and simplified messages, as a necessary form of middle-class propriety and respectable behavior in the new multicultural, commercial football industry.

The first section of this chapter addresses the development of the joint anti-racist campaign created by the CRE and the PFA. This state-sponsored project utilized football to attempt a broader anti-racist message. Football functioned as a resource for the agency's increasingly public approach to combating racism in well-known sections of British society. An emphasis on preventing youth from learning racist behavior featured, while a contextual understanding of racism only existed inasmuch as the program imagined football to be a microcosm of society. Their failure to interrogate the broader origins of racist conduct, rooted in social conflict and economic inequalities in Margaret Thatcher's Britain, limited the usefulness and impact of the program to within stadium walls. The second section addresses the emergence of anti-racist fanzines. These fanzines espoused a blatantly violent approach to address racist spectators, and preferred to police their own football environments rather than have the state or the police involved. Several highly-publicized incidents of racism in football in the 1990s provided fodder for debates about racism in football and how it should be tackled. The persistence of anti-fascist attitudes within the grassroots anti-racist movement is the subject of the third section. Several fanzines adopted anti-fascist affiliations with AFA and continued to imbue football with class politics. The conundrum of racial difference troubled anti-fascists, who exacerbated antagonisms within stadiums and feared that the debate over race would prevent working-class unity. They also promoted the fanzine as a political

resource, much like the newspaper in previous decades, and used it to disseminate their own vision of what football should look like in the postcolonial era. In the end, though popular anti-racist messages worked to minimize overt racisms, they also established a discursive and structural framework in which race became the key topic and most respected division of power. Other axes of discrimination and division, such as gender, sexuality, religion and class, were sufficiently marginalized in effort to simplify the public uses of sport in Britain. Anti-racist politics obscured more subtle exclusions within stadium environments, where women and specific groups of men could not participate in either football spectating or anti-racist movements without difficulty.

The State's Response: The CRE and the Labour Task Force

The state's anti-racist involvement in football piggybacked on an increasingly large grassroots movement instigated by anti-fascists and anti-racists on the local level, and did not become institutional until 1993 under the CRE's Campaign Unit. Nonetheless, the CRE-PFA campaign gave the football anti-racist movement government legitimacy and greater funding than any of the local or regional associations. The program, originally named *Let's Kick Racism Out of Football*, received funding from the Football Trust, which earlier funded changes to stadiums and the implementation of CCTV. With its initial funds, the campaign sought to gain publicity and club support. All but one of the English professional clubs and nearly half of the Scottish clubs signed on by early 1994, and therefore adorned their stadiums with posters, stickers,

advertisements, and public address announcements.[3] The campaign used these resources to gain media publicity and raise awareness that clubs would not tolerate overt racist conduct. The group also released a fanzine entitled *Kick It!* which harnessed the popularity of alternative publications to broadcast its own institutional anti-racist messages. The campaign received several facelifts from the CRE's various coordinating councils in its first few years and its initiatives changed based on their recommendations.[4] Several relaunches, most importantly as Kick It Out in 1997, capitalized on the growing media concern with racism in football and the movement's elevation to a *cause célèbre* in English society.[5]

This national program provided leadership for willing clubs and examples of how to implement low-level campaigning tactics, and in the long run, largely contributed to the successful decrease in explicit forms of racist conduct at matches. The CRE needed a boost of brief success to stem its mounting irrelevance in British politics and government administration. In its brief history from 1976, the CRE had been unable to register a large political triumph after initially pursuing discrimination cases in education, employment and housing. Many of their difficulties stemmed from thin support from Conservative administrations (1979-1997) and Home Office leaders who displayed inconsistent commitment to remedying social inequalities of any sort. Their original

[3] Garland and Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*, 54-6.

[4] In 1995, the campaign was taken over by the Advisory Group Against Racism and Intimidation (AGARI), a steering group which sought to broaden the CRE's initiatives in the campaign. Later the campaign received autonomy under the CRE as it evolved into *Kick it Out*, an even broader project that emphasized its new ties with other footballing organizations. See Garland and Rowe, *Racism and Anti-Racism in Football*, 55-6.

[5] See Back, Crabbe and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, 192-3.

priorities established the CRE as a protective government agency, with varying success in changing social practices, and very little public recognition.[6] Though the agency boasted a series of publications that disseminated its research findings—including books, journals, occasional papers and pamphlets—the organization lacked a strong public profile and increasingly invoked criticism from several different angles. The Policy Studies Institute independently investigated the CRE and its legal initiatives, and in 1991 released their detrimental findings. The PSI found the CRE negligent in many of its duties, especially regarding employment discrimination and legal representation for the poor, and argued that the Race Relations Act and the CRE be completely overhauled.[7] The report tarnished the image of the group and its overseeing body, the Home Office, and encouraged institutional changes in the next few years.

The football campaign provided a well-publicized and broadly popular initiative that helped re-establish the relevancy of the CRE. Sir Herman Ouseley, who served as the executive chairman of the CRE from 1993-2001, oversaw changes in the public performance of the agency and emphasized the need for public acceptance. *Let's Kick Racism Out of Football* not only served as a key program under Ouseley's new leadership, but provided a limited and approachable public target to reduce racism. Unlike the amorphous and ever-changing discriminations in larger areas like education

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[6] See Ray Honeyford, *The Commission for Racial Equality: British Bureaucracy and the Multiethnic Society* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998). Despite Honeyford's conservative conclusions and questionable analysis, his background work on the CRE established a good history of the CRE's initiatives.

[7] Press Release and Summary of the Policy Studies Institute, 7 June 1991. In RC Subfonds 6, Box 61, Folder 3.

and housing, football presented what seemed like a bounded environment. By targeting fascist and racist instigators, as well as the football clubs which had too long ignored this growing problem, the CRE could be seen as successful in a popular arena. An anti-racist program in football afforded the opportunity to demonstrate some tangible success in fighting popular racisms. Success in a single social site could be marketed as evidence of achievement, while their ongoing legal battles, social research, and pushes for legislative changes pursued long-term goals with little public appeal. Furthermore, the program capitalized on the popularity of the sport itself: by allying with clubs and the PFA, if one supported football one should also support anti-racism in football.

In a metaphorical sense, the CRE's choice of football displayed how they imagined football as a microcosm of British society. If sport operated as a representation of the nation, then eliminating racism within football would translate to battling racism in larger social and cultural contexts. If the CRE succeeded in purging the sport of its racist elements, then it enhanced its own efficacy and fulfilled its broader social purpose. In making the sport a harmonious sphere of social relations, they perceived that they could mimic their efforts in the macrocosm. Challenging racial discrimination in sport also overlapped with employment concerns, as black players could be regarded both as public icons and as black laborers in a discriminatory industry. In many ways, the campaigners represented themselves as a bridge between society and sport, especially with its emphasis on youth education. The CRE's Campaign Unit commented, "The first campaign we did was a football campaign…because we looked at the whole area of young people and how to get to them, what medium we could use which would hold a

message against racism and for equal opportunity and would also speak very clearly and directly to all people."[8] By attacking racism in soccer, the CRE capitalized on the opportunity to present concrete, substantial advancements in the battle against racism in the nation's most popular sport and booming leisure industry. In doing so, they repaired their public image and benefitted from football's popularity and exposure. Much like neo-fascist and anti-fascist organizations, the CRE capitalized on debates about race in football to build their organization's prominence.

Let's Kick Racism Out of Football also fit with new initiatives spawned by the CRE in 1994 to educate the public using large-market advertising campaigns to expand the image and scope of the agency. Conservative Home Secretary Michael Howard launched the Public Education Campaign by hiring advertising powerhouse Saatchi & Saatchi to develop a series of ads that made the public aware of both the extent of racial discrimination in British society and the measures the CRE took to combat it.[9] The CRE took ads in cinemas, billboards, and television commercials, expanding their public awareness and using new media and increased funding to attend to their civic profile. The football campaign mimicked these moves by capitalizing on football's fame and beginning their canvass with media-based materials and activities such as distributing messages in club programmes and fanzines. The initial launch and preliminary activities of the CRE-PFA project garnered the desired widespread media attention, and also

[8] Interview with CRE Campaigns Unit, quoted in John Carver, Jon Garland and Michael Rowe, *Racism, Xenophobia and Football: A Preliminary Investigation,* Research Paper 3 (University of Leicester: Centre for the Study of Public Order, 1995), 19.

[9] Commission for Racial Equality News Release no. 539, 6 September 1994. In RC Subfonds 6, Box 61, Folder 5.

piqued the interests of other anti-racist organizations. The Runnymede Trust, an independent policy research organization on racism and multiculturalism, followed closely the developments of the football campaign. Despite having paid attention to fascism in football in the 1970s, the Trust's only other large collections on football racism occur with the CRE's launch in 1993.[10] Even regional and local papers took notice of how their clubs adopted the campaign, and lent their support to activities as well.[11]

Despite widespread public support, the program's messages and publications actually promoted very limited understanding of racisms and means to combat them, especially when its materials targeted a younger audience. Several testimonial accounts of racial abuse at football matches lamented that children learned such acts through attending matches. Journalist Amanda Kendal wrote that during a 1994 FA Cup match, "Latics' striker Darren Beckford was abused from the terraces – most disturbingly by a young child who called him a 'nigger.' The child's father, standing next to him, did nothing."[12] After discussing the abuse he received as a player in the late 1970s, Garth Crooks commented, "But it's sad because the younger ones are learning it," presumably through attending matches.[13] Such testimonials encouraged an emphasis on edifying youthful spectators on the deleterious effects of racist behavior. The articles in *Kick It!*

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[10] See RC Subfonds 6, Box 140, Folder 3 for the large collection of press clippings and releases assembled by the Runnymede Foundation between 1993 and 1995.

[11] See, for example, the report on Gillingham Football Club in *The Chatham Standard*, 13 August 1993.

[12] *Morning Star*, 13 May 1994.

[13] *The Independent*, 27 October 1993.

aimed at changing adolescent racist behavior in two main ways: by promoting successful black footballers and issuing calls for further proactive measures by young fans. As a result, hardly any of the content of the fanzines addressed the contextual complexities of racism, but instead discouraged specific forms of racial abuse that black players recalled as disturbing and humiliating. Overall, an emphasis on countering symptomatic forms of racist behavior rather than racial understandings or the contributing factors in the creation of racial attitudes undermined the fanzine's effectiveness.

The magazine also promoted football as a mythic bastion where the sporting experience could be perfected by eliminating racism. In the first issue, Ouseley said, "Football is a beautiful sport. Thousands of people play it regularly; millions watch the game every week. Football belongs to us all. Racist abuse and chanting and loutish behavior should not be allowed to spoil our enjoyment."[14] The CRE stressed that an uninhibited, ideal sporting experience should be the goal. For many of football's anti-racist initiatives, the removal of racism became a project incorporated into the larger goal of sanitizing the entire sport. The contextual causes and social origins of racism in Britain faded into the background, and the CRE extracted the football experience from its broader setting. By imagining the football arena as a separate and dislocated sphere of relations, the CRE not only protected the interests of British football but also disconnected racist conduct in the sport from the broader debates about racial difference within British society. As such, football racism could be treated, exposed and challenged without consideration for more extensive social fractures outside the sport.

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[14] *Kick It!* no. 1 (1994), introductory comments.

This subtle separation contradicted the CRE's stated goal of bridging the gap between sport and society. The CRE-PFA affiliation stated its purpose for the fanzine, "*Kick It!*... includes advice on what supporters can do to help stop the divisive and destructive force of racism, and to help promote good relations between people of different racial groups." Ouseley added, "It will also be targeted to young people in schools, youth clubs and colleges as part of the wider aim of creating more tolerant, and less racist, attitudes in our society."[15] The emphasis on simplifying the message for youth resulted in banal understandings of the political uses of racism and instead reified behaviors as the target of political action.[16] Though they imagined that the program could be educative of larger issues of racial discrimination in society, especially for younger audiences, CRE's pursuits within football usually failed to connect racisms and the construction of racial difference with the social and structural genesis of racial attitudes outside the football stadiums.

The emphasis on behavior can be most prominently detected in the multiple articles, editorials and interviews that focused on the abuse of black players. By exposing the behaviors black players despised—namely racial chanting, banana throwing, and verbal abuse—the fanzine championed the idea that eliminating behavioral traits of the crowd would lead to the end of football racisms. Consider the following editorial comments from the first issue of *Kick It!*: "We've all seen it, or heard it: bananas (and worse) thrown at black players; the constant chants of coon, nigger, black b*****d; the

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[15] Sir Herman Ouseley in Commission for Racial Equality News Release No. 537, 18 August 1994. In RC Subfonds 6, Box 140, Folder 3.

[16] See Back, Crabbe, and Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football*, Chapter Seven.

gobbing; the monkey chants and hoots of derision when black players get possession; and the taunts on the pitch itself…We simply cannot afford to sit back and think it's all history now."[17] The emphasis on removing specific behaviors can also be seen in an article depicting changes to policing racism. *Kick It!* editors encouraged police to monitor racist abuse in the stands, even though pushing police to make interventions could cause further violent behavior. One article read: "Police forces take their responsibilities in this area seriously, but some of them are still afraid of arresting people for chanting, lest this should incite worse incidents such as fighting between the two teams' supporters." The author supported using newly-installed CCTV systems to aid in behavioral prosecution, as "this dilemma can be avoided by making arrests after the match, in the knowledge that the evidence against the offenders will be on film."[18] Policing racism predictably focused on removing fans who exhibited racist behavior, especially as legislation generated to tackle racial abuse specifically focused on chanting and throwing objects onto the field.[19]

Despite anti-racists' relative success in decreasing the incidence of these behaviors, their larger goals of educating football spectators on the broader cultural

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[17] *Kick It!* no. 1 (1994), editorial comments.

[18] *Ibid*, 4.

[19] The Football Offences Act of 1991 passed with the intent of allowing prosecutable charges for racist conduct in football. However, the original stipulations allowed for arrest of spectators when chanting in concert with one or more others, not on an individual basis. As a result, the original legislation was relatively toothless, and as others have noted, superfluous in light of other public order legislation. After some small adjustments in subsequent years, spectators could be charged for individual acts, but the arrest and prosecution numbers remained very low. The law also applied only to England and Wales. For details, see Guy Osborn and Steve Greenfield, *Regulating Football: Commodification, Consumption and the Law* (London: Pluto Press, 2001).

ramifications and origins of such behavior failed. The conceptualization of the makeup of contemporary racisms, as defined by behavior, ignored the attitudes and social relationships which buttressed them and made them possible. The CRE-PFA campaign perpetuated this focus on conduct by repeatedly making supporters aware of the 1991 Football Offences Act, which targeted "indecent or racialist chanting." Printed campaign materials nearly always included segments which instructed fans on the details of the Act and how it could deter racist behavior when fans relayed problems to police and stewards.[20] Envisaging racism as a closed repertoire of behaviors denied the relational and political content of racial abuse in wider social settings, confining racial attitudes to spectators within the limited boundaries of the football milieu. Concentrating sanitizing efforts on racist behaviors also treated such behaviors as universal in their intent, rather than recognizing the multiple variations in motivations for such conduct, especially in light of local football partisan conflicts and the contextual political settings of specific postcolonial cities. Racist behavior was often perceived as an off-putting tactic within the small arena of player/spectator interaction: spectators engaged in racial abuse to set other players off their game. The racial content of such remarks were often ignored by official anti-racist campaigns, despite the CRE-PFA desire to make "racism in society" evident. In the end, the program's activities attempted a functional use of football as a popular sport to spread anti-racist messages to British society. Instead, overt behaviors were challenged and minimized while broader social divisions and racialized understandings of spectator interaction were obscured.

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[20] *Kick It!* no. 1 (1994), 3.

The CRE-PFA campaign nonetheless established the perception and expectation that racism and anti-racism in football could condition and inform larger social ills, and vice versa. Shortly after achieving a long-awaited administration, the Labour Party in 1997 instituted the Football Task Force (FTF) in response to campaign promises to better regulate and promote sport in England. The executive summary of the FTF's final report clearly articulated the influential connections between sport and society:

> Football's power to unite surpasses that of any other sport – but so does its power to divide. The game commands the hearts and minds of millions. There is no more powerful vehicle to take to young people a positive message of tolerance and respect. But football can also be a focal point for racism and xenophobia. Racism is not a problem of football's making. It is society's problem. Yet it is an issue the game cannot afford to sideline. It presents it with responsibilities – and new opportunities. The game's ruling bodies – and clubs and players as its ambassadors – have a responsibility to protect and promote its image as the game that unites the world. They must act wherever necessary to ensure people can watch and play free from prejudice and abuse. They also have an opportunity to make a positive contribution to creating a better society…For a game often accused of taking more than it gives, the value of work by football to 'put something back into society' cannot be overstated.[21]

Clearly, the functional uses of sport for tackling racism within British society featured in the FTF's approach to anti-racism in football, with special emphasis on football's growing commercial popularity. In addition, the FTF also intimate that the role of British football in generating a protective and idealistic role for sport within society would improve Britain's international relations. In the FTF perspective, football provided not only a way of combating racism, but also of improving Britain's global image.

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[21] *Eliminating Racism from Football: A Report by the Football Task Force,* submitted to the Minister for Sport (Tony Banks) by David Mellor on 30 March 1998. BL: m02/10680.

For the FTF, anti-racism also became a function of other desirable commercial and national incentives, cheapening not only the potential of legitimate anti-racist messages but also mystifying the racist experiences of black players, spectators, and British citizens. Eliminating racial abuse at matches and racial discrimination in managerial decisions would increase the level of talented players available for selection for international duty. According to the FTF, the proposed elimination of racism in football "is about the quality of English football – country and clubs need to draw on the talents of the whole community; the more players the national team manager can choose from, the stronger England's chances of success." Making the national side more representative of Britain's growing black population would not only serve to appease calls for inclusion but also to bolster the ambitions of the public for England's international footballing prowess. The FTF bent the relationship between sport and society towards fulfilling broader national sporting objectives in addition to anti-racism. The anti-racist impulse in football could also be utilized to further the financial profitability of football as a commercial enterprise. In other recommendations, the report stated that, "there are sound commercial and footballing reasons why everybody should have an interest in its [anti-racism's] success." The FTF continued, "Football clubs with support spread through all sections of the community can boost crowds and maintain stable finances. The game's current popularity may not last indefinitely." Supporting a welcoming environment towards spectators of all ethnic backgrounds determined the financial health of the football industry. Creating an atmosphere of acceptance and tolerance encouraged profit viability, and anti-racism's popularity could be useful

towards those ends. The imagined connections between society and sport usually worked to serve ends beyond removing racism, and therefore undermined the state's capability to effect lasting social and cultural transformations.

As in previous decades, the state's involvement in regulating anti-social behavior within British football reflected larger goals of maintaining idealized forms of British propriety, national commitment, and appropriate public behavior. In fact, the anti-racist movement in football did not gain public approval and state legitimacy until concerns about multiculturalism in an increasingly diverse Britain became prevalent political issues. Both the CRE and the Labour Party limited the efficacy of institutionalized anti-racism by endorsing a narrow focus on specific forms of behavior and decontextualizing social relationships within sport. In contrast, the challenge against racism from spectators pursued an entirely different direction.

The Supporters' Response: Fanzines and Anti-Racism in Football

The fanzine, as both a genre and a political outlet, emerged from the subcultural politics of style and criticism within the football world. Descendant of musical magazines which addressed the disjuncture and disassociation of a generation of punk provocateurs, football fanzines allowed fans to express their own alternative views and opinions.[22] Fanzines evolved into a collection of unconventional supporter perspectives

[22] For the excellent work on the genealogy and purpose of football fanzines, see Richard Haynes and Steve Redhead, *The Passion and the Fashion: Football Fandom in the New Europe* (Brookfield, VT: Avebury, 1994); Richard Haynes, *The Football Imagination: The Rise of Football Fanzine Culture* (Brookfield, VT: Arena, 1995).

on the goings-on in the football industry, usually with specific focus on a single club.[23] Written with gritty language and infused with humor, fanzines operated as a channel for fans in opposition to clubs' decisions and the growing commercialization of the sport in the 1980s and 1990s. In many ways, they served as a grassroots instrument against the decreasing democratization of football clubs, allowing supporters to apply public pressure and express unorthodox attitudes. Most often, they included comics, editorials, letters, and reports of clubs' activities. In the late 1980s, a few supporter-based fanzines adopted the express purpose of promoting anti-racism within their football clubs.

As evidenced by early anti-racist fanzines, spectators adopted a self-policing policy to prevent racist abuse and behavior within their closely-guarded football environments. Inasmuch as this trend reflected earlier promotions of self-policing by the British government and police officials, it also indicated supporters' desire to maintain control over the football experience which was constantly changing and shifting. As the communal familiarity of spectating football diminished with the commercialization of football, spectators fought to retain the ability to monitor the crowds on the terraces. Controlling the terrace environments, as well as the newly-mandated seated areas, required spectators to minimize the role of the clubs and police in dictating the shape of the supporters' experiences.[24] As racism posed a growing challenge to British football,

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[23] The main exception is *When Saturday Comes*, a popular national fanzine on English and European football.

[24] The Taylor Report (1989) recommended that all stadiums should be converted to seating accommodations only. The FA followed the recommendations and mandated changes to all stadiums in the five years after the report's publication. The transition to all-seated stadiums has been widely championed, along with the implementation of CCTV, as responsible for the massive decline in football violence in the

spectators adopted self-policing practices against racial abuse as a mechanism for controlling the implementation of social order within stadiums. Echoing anti-fascist predecessors, anti-racist approaches in the late 1980s and 1990s involved creating environments which proved threatening and intimidating to spectators participating in racial abuse. Anti-racist fanzines often incorporated aggression and violence against racism into their informal statements of purpose, encouraging loyal male spectators to oppose the scourge of racism in football with force.

Establishing that the spectators of local clubs disallowed racial abuse became the task of fanzine writers. Building such reputations discouraged both home and away fans from participating in racial abuse, but also allowed spectator collectives to establish their own moral superiority. Foxes Against Racism (FAR), a small collective of anti-racist supporters of Leicester City F.C., discussed their intentions in their fanzine, *Filbo Fever*:

> All the individuals within Foxes Against Racism have had enough of so-called football fans using football as a soapbox to continually – and without retribution – spout this filth. We aim to achieve this by: 1) becoming a catalyst for changing attitudes on the terraces and within LCFC and in the surrounding communities. This entails becoming a visible and audible presence among City fans as a whole challenging racist attitudes on and off the terraces by any means necessary, and helping other non-racist football fans to gain in confidence and help them to speak out too…2) Constantly monitoring racism among City fans, and at grounds we visit, and (as appropriate) will provide information to LCFC itself; and press them to adopt further reactive and preventative measures which will enable us ordinary Leicester City fans to kick racism out of football for good.[25]

Other anti-racist fanzines carried similar statements, which not only clearly advocated the use of aggressive self-policing "by any means necessary", but also see racist and anti-

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1990s. All-seated stadiums have also been criticized, usually by spectators, as diminishing the communal aspects of football spectating.

[25] *Filbo Fever* No. 7 (August/September 1995), 23.

racist roles as definable and mutually exclusive. As evidenced, fanzines and proactive anti-racists pressured clubs to help them create unwelcoming environments for those participating in racial abuse. Several letters to editors at fanzines helped to build pressure on clubs as well. A letter to *Flashing Blade*, a fanzine for Sheffield United, stated, “It is only when fans like you reading this complain to the club every time you hear racist abuse at the Lane that they will take it seriously.” After discussing the problematic and unreliable interventions of club-appointed stewards, the letter’s author demanded that other supporters pressure the club’s chairman: “We must remain vigilant and Charles Green will get the stewards to act if we keep protesting.” Maintaining a racism-free environment, through self-policing and exerting pressure on local clubs, became the primary goal of several fanzine editors and committed anti-racist activists in British football. In doing so, they created a mutually exclusive division between racist and anti-racist roles in the football environment, maintained by shared antipathies and a sense of moral privilege.

Anti-racist fanzines promoted several different ways of identifying racists and challenging their activities. Like the police, anti-racists often had trouble identifying individuals within a crowd in order to pursue them by “any means necessary.” Leeds Fans United Against Racism and Fascism began eliminating the presence of racial abuse and fascist demonstrations at their club in the mid-1980s.[26] Their fanzine, *Marching Altogether*, intermittently ran a section that aimed at identifying particularly evasive

[26] For a history of LFUARF activities, see Brian Holland, Lorna Jackson, Grant Jarvie and Mike Smith in Jeff Hill and Jack Williams, eds. *Sport and Identity in the North of England* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1996); John Thomas, “Kicking Racism Out of Football: A Supporter’s View,” *Race & Class* vol. 36 (January 1995), 95-101.

offenders. "Who Is the Dickhead in the Lowfield Seats?" displayed a map of the stadium and an X in the approximate area of the origin of racial abuse at recent matches. The article recalled that during a recent match with Tottenham F.C., a club known for its large Jewish following, a Leeds fan had participated in racial abuse and needed to be brought forward. "Who was the dickhead at the Spurs match who started singing 'Spurs are on their way to Belsen…' you know, all that anti-Jewish, gas chamber –Hitler shit?" asked the article. "If you know him or if you are that dickhead, the message is Fuck Off and Die!"[27] The article promoted self-policing not only through direct confrontation, but by asking other fanzine readers to aid in the identification process. Anti-racist supporters used the fanzine publication not only to spread messages, but also to aid in self-policing methods. Local government administrations followed supporters' lead in proactively creating self-policing techniques. The Reading Council for Racial Equality recommended to Labour's Football Task Force "that season ticket holders could be issued with a 'red card' so that they can show their offence at others' comments which can be caught on video."[28] In this proposal, not only would fans be involved in pressuring offenders to desist from racial abuse, but also actively pursuing police justice. The Council insinuated that with video footage, fans given the red card could be identified and prosecuted upon review of CCTV recordings. Anti-racist activists

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[27] *Marching Altogether* no. 13 (April 1992), 11.

[28] *Partnerships to Keep Racism Out of Football,* Conference Proceedings, 4 November 1997 (Reading: Public Impact Communications 1998). Conference sponsored by the Reading Council for Racial Equality. BL: YK.1998.b.4950.

generated self-policing practices that adapted to the changing physical environments of football stadiums.

The motivations for fighting racism within football varied, and often betrayed other goals beyond moral opposition to racial abuse. Most prominently, many fans expressed anxieties about the reputation of British football and their local clubs as racism became a publicly-recognized problem. *You Wot!*, the anti-racist alternative fanzine for Torquay United, addressed the decline of the nation's game in the opening editorial of its first issue: "YOU WOT! is opposed to fascism and racism. If these evils are allowed to triumph, then our game will die a slow death. Black players will be reluctant to join clubs, our league and teams will suffer and attendances will drop." The editor expressed concerns about the waning popularity of football when challenged by racisms within the sport, which would lead to weakening commercial returns and the overall regression of British football. Apprehensions about the viability of the industry and its embodied image of propriety compelled supporters to stem the proliferation of ugly racial incidents. After chairman Ron Noades stated that he preferred "hard white men" to "artistic black players," who could not tolerate a cold British winter, on a BBC television program, Crystal Palace fans chastised Noades not only for universalizing black players as weak and effeminately artsy, but also for bringing disrepute to the cherished club and halting the team's momentum. "All the woes this season began with the pathetic remarks of our chairman. Whether taken in context or not, they were quite simply rank stupidity of the highest order…The whole affair has brought shame on Crystal Palace and put the club on the back pages for the wrong reasons." Anti-racists brooded over the adverse publicity

engendered by racial abuse, and worried that their club's reputation would suffer. Beyond ideological resistance to racial discrimination, supporters anxiously protected the sport and its local clubs.

Anti-racists in football also defended their clubs' managerial and selection decisions regarding black players, though they often interpreted their social meanings differently. In 1996, *Flashing Blade* printed a telling conversation between one black supporter writing to the editor and the editor's response. The exchange revealed how loyalty to club and hostility to racist fans could be intertwined and complicated. Ramon Mohamed wrote in, "I thought we were living in the multi-cultural 'rainbow' nineties and not the bigoted days of the seventies and eighties." In response to racial chanting Mohamed "shouted back at the morons challenging their racism. Another 'white' Blade also verbally attacked the racists and I applaud his bravery and would like to thank him…Is it just coincidental that, at the time of writing, Sheffield United don't have a single black player in the first team squad?" The editor replied, "It is a sorry tale you relate…Well done to the True Blade who had the courage to stand up and challenge them." Yet, despite the editor's initial agreement and advocacy for policing racist conduct, he quickly defended the club for not having black representation in the squad: "It is unfortunate that United had no black players in the squad until the arrival of Paul Parker, but I'm positive this was by accident rather than design."[29] The editor continued by noting other successful teams without black players, whose managers were apparently

[29] Parker was signed between the time Mohamed submitted his letter and the editor published it, along with his response.

blameless.[30] While the black supporter risked testifying not only against overt racist conduct in the terraces, but also the perceptible discrimination in team selection, the editor chose to protect the club and manager's reputation instead of considering the possibility of institutional prejudice. A third party, Sean O'Brien of Leeds, wrote in the following month defending Mohamed's position. Though, he added that "it should not be about whether we have any black players at all. Everyone should be treated as equal; race should not come into it."[31] This egalitarian comment subverted both other parties by shaming their position as overly cognizant of racial difference, and concluded the dialogue on the matter. However, O'Brien's comments also deny the specificity of race in exclusionary practice, and therefore inadvertently undermined the charges of bigotry against the club. The discussion revealed how particular incidents could spur forthright discussions about the construction of racial difference in football. It also illuminated how loyalties to club challenged supporters' steadfast opposition to racism in the sport.

In many cases, supporters demanded that their clubs sign a black player to remove any suspicion of racial discrimination amongst the management and board rooms. With the recent increase in racial abuse at Barnsley Football Club, some supporters insisted that the club take action. Keith Latham wrote in *South Riding*:

> Some other league clubs in our area ie. Sheffield Wednesday and United, and Leeds, have all had their problems with idiots chanting monkey noises from their terraces. The clubs concerned have taken on coloured players and what happens? Normal football support reigns again. Gone are the racist slurs and the support doesn't fade, if anything, it steadily improves. I'm not asking Mr. Machin [club chairman] to use a token coloured player to ward off the problem, but to seriously

[30] *Flashing Blade* no. 51 (December 1996), Flashing Back letters to editor section.

[31] *Flashing Blade* no. 52 (January 1997), Flashing Back.

> consider the worth of an investment to help kill two birds with one stone on his next venture into the transfer market.[32]

Latham's comments repudiated the common fear that signing black players would deter supporters who preferred a homogenous white team. On the contrary, Latham intimated that signing black players would improve the team and thus increase ticket sales. Wary of perceiving adding a black player as a substitute for practically opposing racial abuse in the terraces, Latham did recognize that such a player would improve the team and show the club's supporters that black players were accepted. Signing a black player, Latham hinted, would also separate Barnsley from other clubs in the midlands burdened with racist supporters.

In response, John Wray seconded the motion: "Whether these people acknowledge it or not the future of British football is multi-racial…Sometime in the future Barnsley F.C. will buy black players but how much do we have to suffer in the meantime?, and what a way to ruin our national sport and what is potentially the town's best asset." Wray supported the idea that failing to sign black players affected the quality of the product. In addition, Wray betrayed that his opposition to racism in the game depended on his desire to uphold the vulnerable reputation of club and country. As in other debates in fanzines, additional parties chimed in with atypical viewpoints. One anonymous writer challenged utilizing black players for political purposes. "After reading the letters in the last two issues of S.R. aimed at the signing of a black player…I would ask cannot we go further than this. Could we not, as a club, sign a player who

[32] *South Riding* no. 7 (During 1990/91 Season?), 37.

would rid the terraces of all prejudices, E.G. a female, black, lesbian, one parent family, who had blood ties to George Courtney and Saddam Hussein." With tongue firmly in cheek, the writer suggested that no player should be denied opportunity because of skin color, but that the club should seek to improve its fortunes without regard for political opportunities to express multicultural solidarity.[33] Though meant as humorous sarcasm, the intimation of sexism and homophobia in supporting collectives was rare, and ultimately not pursued or discussed further. Again, the willingness of fanzines to facilitate outspoken arguments about the construction of racial difference and opposition to racial exclusions is striking. Furthermore, supporters expressed various levels of comfort with using their local club and the national sport as a stage for political expressions of multiracial harmony, not to mention anti-sexism or other battles for political correctness, in Britain.

Regardless of their level of ease with political activism, some supporters defended their right to police their own terraces and assume the burden of keeping racism outside the game, especially when it kept other parties at bay. Foxes Against Racism decried the club's decision to bring in a consulting firm to strategize the creation of a formal anti-racist campaign, separate from their own grassroots solicitation, at Leicester City. FAR criticized the National Coalition Building Institute for their lack of existing involvement and knowledge of British football: "The NCBI is an American-based organization who are completely unconnected with football, and whose ideas and philosophies (!!) are light years away from the lives and experiences of us 'simple' Blue Army folk!" Protesting

[33] *South Riding* no. 9 (During 1991/92 Season?).

the condescending tone of institutional campaigns, the editorial concluded, " 'All for One and One for All' is the slogan for the LCFC/NCBI initiatives. FAR's version might well be 'Shut up or piss off, racist arseholes!!'"[34] Given most Americans' unfamiliarity with British football, the club's invitation to NCBI irked FAR supporters, and challenged their authority as anti-racist activists. In defense of their legitimacy, FAR claimed to have special knowledge of the specificities of LCFC terrace culture. "It is only other fans who can effectively target racists amongst us; let club officials sort out those amongst their number who 'need attention'!"[35] FAR preserved their status as legitimate, exclusive regulators of racist conduct at their club, who needed no help from external organizations, especially those who failed to be self-reflective about their own managerial and institutional racisms.

Leicester supporters also ridiculed the launch of the CRE-PFA national campaign, criticizing the government for their delayed response. FAR resisted national coordination as much as they did the club's imposed anti-racist organization. In the second year of CRE's investment in football anti-racism, they held a campaign rally in London on the same day as several fan groups and the Football Supporters' Association (FSA) held theirs in Manchester. FAR took offense at the mutual timing: "The CRE knew it…and decided to scupper it completely, anyway!! That's the trouble with 'do-gooding' outsiders – they always want something in return i.e. all the credit." Supporters hated being displaced in their position as anti-racist football regulators. The editor concluded,

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[34] *Filbo Fever* no. 4 (October/November 1994), 2.

[35] *Filbo Fever* no. 7 (August/September 1995), 3.

"Us footy fans are sick of being treated like dispensible pawns for a 'greater purpose'. As members of the Blue Army we have no time for manipulators and con-artists…piss off to obscurity where you came from."[36] While the CRE selected football as a place to battle racism in the cultural realm, and gain some political capital, everyday supporters found their efforts intrusive and moralizing. Unlike the CRE, they found it reprehensible to use sport for political ends. The supporters' brand of anti-racism protected football, the club and black players by aggressively removing racist conduct from the terraces. Very often, they ignored or disdained the political overtones of their own activism.

Other supporters' campaigns came under criticism from local fans for lacking toughness and better organization, despite the fact that fans often deplored formal political intervention in football. Though they often shunned national coordinating efforts, many found their local fan-based organizations weak and derivative. At Everton, local anti-racists borrowed an Italian slogan, 'No al Razzismo', after an editor saw anti-racist efforts at a match on the continent. The fanzine reprinted a letter from a displeased local fan, "It's good to see the WSAG campaign, but its got to be said its pretty crap. 'No al razzismo' what the fuck is that? Why not try something like 'I go in the Street End, but I'm not a racist twat like the 200 dickhead fuckwits in the middle'. Arsehole racists with no brains are not going to be swayed by a middle class anti racist slogan written in Italian."[37] Again, the supporter's disdain for moralizing and patronizing anti-racist messages was evident. Some fans found supporter-based campaigns sloppy, ill-planned,

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[36] *Filbo Fever* no. 4 (October/November 1994), 2-3.

[37] *When Skies Are Grey* no. 33 (February 1994), letter to editor.

and undermotivated. In this case, the supporter clearly prefers an antagonistic self-policing policy. He further criticized the club for lacking masculine bravado in taking racist supporters on, "Its obvious Everton FC will do nothing to control/stop this when all they have to do is pay a couple of bruisers a tenner each to sit at the game and when racist chants are started to get them to shout them down with things like 'Fuck off you racist twats' very loudly and very aggressively." As opposed to politically-correct activities and media-based advertisement campaigns, this supporter represented a large body of spectators who craved both forceful policies against racists and immediate ground-level responses to racial abuse.

In this particular case, pressure from fans to stifle anti-racist slogans and national media involvement succeeded. A few months after the initial criticisms, *When Skies Are Grey* changed tactics: "We have become aware that whilst we are running such a visible anti-racism campaign we may be contributing to the problem…WSAG is constantly being asked by the local and national media to discuss racism at Everton, and we're sick of it." The fanzine decided to "give our no al razzismo campaign a lower profile for the time being. It is hoped that when we do it will contribute towards starving the few racists there are of the 'oxygen of publicity'."[38] Apparently, the movement attracted both national media and political extremists from neo-fascist parties and the Socialist Workers' Party, all of whom Everton anti-racists detested. Instead of promoting football as a social space for political debate, the fanzine responded to requests from fans to temper the political connotations of their anti-racism. Being forced into the national

[38] *When Skies Are Grey* no. 35 (May/June 1994), editorial section.

spotlight created other problems, such as drawing neo-fascists and unwanted publicity, which supporters found distracting when attempting to combat racism aggressively on the social level.

Though self-policing constituted the major component of spectator campaigns, not all supporters adopted the policy uncritically. Many wondered whether physical confrontation in the stadiums would lead to more violence outside of it. Some supporters feared vengeance in other venues, especially in small communities. One acute journalist interviewed supporters who came to the consensus "that it is best to keep quiet, or perhaps point out the ringleaders to stewards." The article told the story of young Charlton fans, "One pupil was worried about the consequences 'if you shop [report] someone and they see you on the street the next day'. The others nodded agreement."[39] Despite the constant pressure to report or confront racial abuses, some spectators, especially younger ones, feared retribution in other social settings. Self-policing worked for men who had the physical character and masculine disposition to carry out aggressive altercations, but not for all men.

In addition to unaggressive men, self-policing policies also worked to further exclude women from the football environment. The promotion of aggressive conduct, though interconnected to anti-racist purposes, heightened the belligerent tensions and encouraged the escalation of machoism within football settings. The continuation of masculine codes of conduct proved unwelcoming to women, excluding them in two ways. First, women could be uncomfortable in tough settings where hostile behavior and

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[39] *Times Educational Supplement*, 15 October 1993.

violent exchanges proliferated. The sanitization of violence in the 1970s and 1980s gave way to the reassertion of violence as the means of settling conflict in the anti-racist era. Women's consumption of football and involvement with other hard core supporters was minimal. Second, women could not participate in the anti-racist campaign without adopting self-policing aggression as the informal policy code of their activism. Such policies encouraged women to be violent, and like many non-violent men, women could be unwelcome in terraces where aggressive anti-racism ruled. The available evidence which discussed women's participation in self-policing or anti-racist campaigns is minimal. No women appear in the lists of editors of anti-racist fanzines, and very few, if any, women wrote into fanzines to express their opinions. This absence is telling. Anti-racism in football, as both a grassroots political expression and attention-grabbing national campaign, involved almost no women. The dominance of masculine antagonisms structured the consumption of football and the pathways for women's participation in political anti-racisms on the local level in British football.

The promotion of self-policing tactics also operated as an extension of the reclamation and imposition of public order in football. The means through which public order was achieved posed a contradiction. Whereas removing violence from the football realm became the purpose of the government's sanitization campaign in the 1970s and mid-1980s, violent hostilities became fundamental in the removal of overt racisms. In addition, by emphasizing their antipathies towards specific forms of racist expression and racial abuse, supporters' groups reified racism as a body of conduct, not the imposition of racial difference for the purposes of power in social and structural relationships. They

defined supporters as either racist or anti-racist, creating mutually opposing roles embodied by specific forms of conduct. Such an emphasis disallowed the possibility of various forms of unrecognized racisms, including less overt managerial discrimination and the social pressures on black players. However, by creating forums for the public discussion of racism within sport, fanzine editors and supporters produced forthright debates that questioned how to protect one of Britain's cherished cultural traditions. The defense of public order in this cultural site generated plainspoken and practical discussions about how to combat racism in British sport, and infrequently, in British society. However, much like their response to earlier anti-violence measures, supporters often ignored the British government's involvement in football affairs, defending their campaigns against racism as locally-specific, legitimate, and pragmatic.

Anti-Fascist Influence and Fanzines in the Anti-Racist Era.

Despite the proliferation of national and local anti-racist agendas, anti-fascist political groups maintained their political position and continued their unconventional forms of political practice. The creation of many anti-racist fanzines was underwritten, both ideologically and financially, by anti-fascists who still perceived football as a contested political site. Though relatively ignored by national media campaigns, and subsequently by academics, the persistence of anti-fascism into the era dominated by supporter-based movements and the CRE-PFA campaigns reveals how supporters shaped their anti-racist messages. Anti-fascists influenced the anti-racist campaign by heartening the self-policing impulse, but also worked to establish connections between anti-racist

groups at different clubs. Not all anti-racist efforts adopted an anti-fascist message, allowing for complicated and overlapping messages with intermittent conflicts about the politics of racism in football.

By the late 1980s the Anti-Nazi League's authority faded and Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) carried more influence with football supporters. Though *Searchlight* continued to investigate neo-fascist activities, their emphasis lay with international matches and neo-fascist demonstrations at English national team matches. AFA renewed its interest in local football politics as grassroots supporters' campaigns gained influence in 1987 and 1988 in Leeds and other northern industrial cities. In fact, many of the early anti-racist campaigners had affiliations with AFA. In 1988, at the dawn of anti-racist movements in football, the AFA called on the sport's governing bodies and supporters to help them fight fascism in the nation's sport. Responding to a surge in recent police inquiries into football gang activity and their neo-fascist connections, AFA requested that the Football League and the Football Association take drastic action against ongoing neo-fascist involvement in football.[40] The request emphasized clubs' "inability to come to terms with racism and fascism on the football terraces," and stated that "it is an outrage…that in order to succeed in the sport, black players have also to overcome the added obstacle of learning to tolerate filth and abuse from terrace racists every time they touch the ball."[41] Of course, football governors ignored the statement, but it allowed AFA to mark their

[40] For analysis of undercover police operations in the late 1980s, see Gary Armstrong and Dick Hobbs, "Tackled From Behind," in Richard Giulianotti, Norman Bonney and Mike Hepworth, *Football, Violence and Social Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 196-225.

[41] Anti-Fascist Action statement to Football League and Football Association, 22 April 1988. In RC Subfonds 6, Box 140, Folder 3.

continuing displeasure at the industry's failure to respond to renewed neo-fascism in within football.

Anti-fascist publications began to monitor the anti-racism movement in football and recognize football as politicized cultural institution. *Fighting Talk*, the main outlet of the AFA, began to monitor football-related campaigns and kept tabs on highly-publicized incidents of discrimination and abuse in football. Still committed to the same aggressive political principles, AFA continued to stress the solidarity of working-class men and the challenges racism posed to that imagined unity.[42] The magazine ran a running column where stories of violent football conflict could be published, as well as prominent columns from anti-racist fanzines. They also became a clearinghouse for stickers and t-shirts from anti-fascist groups organized around local clubs like West Ham AFA or Chelsea AFA.[43]

Other anti-fascist splinter groups followed British football as well, attempting to understand how football became a site of political negotiation. In 1991, the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF), a group of anti-fascists who split from the ANL and the *Searchlight* organization, established their own publication which also produced a bi-monthly section updating its readers on football-related activities. CARF regularly reprinted articles from fans involved with LFUARF and the Football Supporters' Association, columns from Crystal Palace's *Eagle Eye* and other fanzines, and publicized

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[42] See editorial statement, which appeared at the end of every issue, in *Fighting Talk* no. 8 (undated, early 1994?).

[43] Nearly all the items for sale in *Fighting Talk* bear evidence to the ways in which AFA organized local branches around football clubs, especially stickers, which were disseminated to combat BNP Party stickers and graffiti.

reports of the worst incidents of racial abuse. In the issue which introduced "Football Update", the ongoing column, CARF attacked Sunderland F.C.'s administration for apparent hypocrisy. A day after receiving the Football Association's "Top Family Club" award, CARF reported several incidents of black and Pakistani schoolchildren being abused outside the stadium. Fifteen-year old Asma Bibi and his classmates wrote the club's manager, Malcolm Crosby, describing the actions of spectators who "shouted out unkind and abominable words because of our colour, like 'Black Bastards', 'Paki' and 'Black Niggers'. They wound down their car windows and spat at people going by." After receiving little sympathy from the club, the kids contacted CARF, who printed their story.[44] Like AFA, CARF sought to publicize incidents not covered by national media, and encouraged their members to participate alongside committed anti-racists in football.

In 1994, editors of *Fighting Talk* published a special issue on football fascism which attempted to inform AFA members, with broad strokes, of the growing importance of both fascism and anti-fascism in football. Like other football supporters, AFA members challenged the legitimacy and efficacy of the CRE-PFA media blitz. They emphasized their knowledge of local specificities and lack of respect for movements backed by government agencies. "It is ultimately those who go regularly to football who will be the ones who have real respect and influence at games, and we would call on all anti-fascists to support these anti-fascist supporter initiatives." The writer clarified, "Support meaning physical, financial and vocal, getting involved if your club has an anti-

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[44] See *Campaign Against Racism and Fascism* no. 8 (May/June 1992).

fascist element, and setting up one if it doesn't."[45] AFA emphasized that only an aggressive approach, and not a media campaign, would be effective. They also affirmed that self-policing was better suited to the new all-seated spaces in the larger British stadiums. "One article in a programme hardly makes a 'campaign'," claimed one editor. "Clubs say people shouting racist abuse will be thrown out, but at many clubs the police and stewards say they can't get to people in the new all-seaters…Clearly only an AFA-style approach can really deal with the problem on the ground." Fundamentally, AFA recognized the significance of debates about racism and fascism within football. However, they also challenged the CRE's efforts to coordinate the campaign and create an uncontroversial anti-racist message.

The AFA leveled its most scathing attacks at the national campaign's latest fanzine, *United Colours of Football*. Created by *Kick It Out*, the Football Supporters' Association, football's governing bodies, and the regional organization Football Unites, Racism Divides in Sheffield, the fanzine became the voice of the nationally-coordinated anti-racist campaign in 1996.[46] AFA maintained that fans should have the right to organize their anti-racist and anti-fascist efforts apart from a coordinated campaign. " 'United Colours is so concerned not to offend the football/political establishment that it ends up looking to that establishment for the solutions- clubs should, police should, etc." Not only did the national campaign rely too heavily on governmental authority, but the

[45] *Fighting Talk,* Football Special Issue, no. 9 (August 1994), 3.

[46] In many ways, *United Colours of Football* displayed the convergence of a single nationally-coordinated anti-racist program. With the institutional support of the major football organizations, and the allegiance of several fanzines, the fanzine became the primary voice of anti-racism in football. It represented a mainstream organizational approach to removing racism from the game.

AFA also thought it generated a decontextualized message that focused too heavily on black players. *United Colours* certainly promoted black role models and accentuated how they navigated through the challenges of racism in football. AFA editors found their messages thin: "It's good that football grounds are beings seen as an arena for anti-racist struggle like any other – but if the starting point is that racism/fascism is caused by 'social issues' outside the ground – unemployment, poor housing etc. etc. – then just telling people to support black players won't change anything." The commentator concluded, "All it means is they've put their prejudices aside for 90 minutes."[47] AFA's trenchant criticisms of the national campaign addressed how the national campaign failed to bridge the gap between sport and society. Because anti-fascists and many local anti-racists felt that their work in the terraces translated to political success by directly challenging the ideologies and practices of neo-fascism, they found the national campaign's efforts insubstantial and impractical. Local anti-racists thought they could legitimately change minds through direct, and sometimes aggressive, physical and vocal confrontations. They also believed that connecting anti-racism to the larger contextual issues neo-fascists brought into debates about football—such as increased job competition, concerns about immigration controls, and poor council housing—would expose wider and broader maladies within British society that transgressed the boundaries of the sport.

However, the AFA usually conceptualized these societal ills within the framework of class conflict, limiting their ability to perceive other divisions of power,

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[47] *Fighting Talk*, Football Special Issue, no. 9 (August 1994), 11.

and understand the complex social relationships divided by racisms in football. As evidenced by the Anti-Fascist Football Fans Congress (BAFF), held in Dusseldorf, the AFA experienced limits to their efforts at contextualizing football racisms, much like the original endeavors of the CRE-PFA campaign above. In 1994, the AFA attended the international conference of anarchists, anti-fascists, and football supporters to discuss the direction of anti-fascism in European football. Twenty-six German clubs attended the congress, and St. Pauli F.C. of Hamburg organized the festivities. St. Pauli had been influential in creating anti-racist momentum in Germany during the early 1990s, and became a role model for British supporter-based movements, many of whom published updates on the German club's activities within British fanzines. Visitors from Italy, the Netherlands, Scotland and Britain attended, with the AFA represented by anti-fascist editors of *Red Attitude* from Manchester. *Fighting Talk* reported the proceedings at length, offering a window onto the attitudes and practices of anti-fascists in an era dominated by the national anti-racist campaign.

The Congress' initial charter agreement reiterated their commitment to preventing neo-fascism from dividing working class unity through the medium of football. Though they would issue a liberal agenda for clubs to support, "The problem also has to be tackled at [the] source – on the terraces amongst the young working class people, at whom the fascists aim their propaganda." The representatives also agreed that programs generated by clubs and national football and anti-racist bodies lacked concrete applications and failed to effect real change. Like local clubs, anti-fascists perceived their challenge as locally-specific, practical, and highly effective.

However, the Congress was interrupted by disruptive participants who challenged the insistence on class unity above all else. Feminist fans from St. Pauli attempted to expand class-based politics, and created a forum where supporters deliberated the overlapping divisions of sexism and fascism. Many of the feminist supporters served as local social workers or club-based community schemes, which allowed extreme anti-fascists to rebuke them as part of the "middle class lefty elements…obsessed with political correctness." AFA and the British anti-fascist contingent abhorred the interruption. They reported, "The main arguments of such people were about the attitudes to women and sexism on the terraces. Obviously sexism is a problem but to hijack a conference which was specifically about fighting racism and fascism is a diversion and the motives of such people have to be questioned." Clearly, gender discrimination ranked a distant third behind the AFA's concern for class unity and racial difference, in that order. Though granting that football suffered from gender exclusions, anti-fascists marginalized these concerns while attempting to re-center the importance of fighting fascism. British anti-fascists also objected to how the discussions over gender occupied time at the conference. "A workshop which was originally designed to come up with practical ideas about fighting organized fascist groups at football grounds was sidelined into abstract arguments about whether sexism is a form of fascism and whether it should be treated with the same priority," they described. They found the debate "bereft of any economic analysis and completely ignorant of class based politics." Attempts to broach key questions about the composition of fascism and feminism found little traction with other anti-fascists, who ignored sophisticated conversations about

divided social relationships outside of class. From reports of the conference in AFA's publication, one can detect only extreme derision of feminist politics, with no attention to feminist attitudes or arguments. Importantly, *Fighting Talk* did report that since the conference, offices at St. Pauli had been bombed, with the club concluding that feminists had been responsible for the attacks. Whether or not the accusations were justified, it is clear that anti-fascists demonized and ostracized the feminist element at the Congress. British anti-fascists remained limited in their vision of social and cultural politics, venerating working-class harmony while only marginally recognizing the detriment of racial exclusions. Feminist activists, women, and discussions of gendered exclusions were not only rejected, but also obfuscated by the constant attention to class politics and the reproduction of aggressive masculinities in football.[48]

Outside of international conferences, anti-fascists adapted to changing methods within politicized football, producing fanzines which promoted anti-fascist politics and contributed to the creation of football anti-racist pressures. Whereas fifteen years earlier the newspaper formed a central site of political negotiation and debate, the fanzine took its place within football circles. While newspapers still proved marginally important, anti-fascists often opted to disseminate messages through alternative and humorous fanzines. The AFA established formal alliances with *Red Attitude* (Manchester United), *Tiochfaid Ar La* (Celtic Fans Against Fascists), *Our Day Will Come* (Celtic F.C., Glasgow and Manchester United), and *Celtic Fans Against Racism* (Celtic), among

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[48] References and citations in this paragraph and the previous can be found in *Fighting Talk*, Football Special Issue, no. 9 (August 1994).

others. Other fanzines, especially *Marching Altogether* (LFUARF) and *You Wot!* (Torquay United, Gulls Against Racism and Fascism), maintained an emphasis on fighting fascism without official factional alliances. In the late 1980s, despite challenges from some fans to depoliticize their fanzines, or at least downplay anti-fascist rhetoric, many of the editors defended their position. "There have been criticisms of *Marching Altogether* in the past that we concentrate too closely on the fascists but their effect cannot be underestimated," explained one Leeds supporter.[49] With the increased media attention to neo-fascist activity in football during this period, many anti-fascist supporters perceived that threatening political elements had made their return to football. While the media attention sensationalized neo-fascist presence, and nearly everyone overestimated the level of neo-fascist involvement, anti-fascists considered eliminating neo-fascism central to the battle against racism in football. Establishing the fanzine as the new political outlet proved central to this battle. When asked about the importance of the fanzine on the football front, one *Red Attitude* editor commented, "The original objective in any project like this is to secure first base or occupy the territory in which you want to operate. In this respect the fanzine was a major success."[50]

Red Attitude and *Our Day Will Come* became the two dominant anti-fascist fanzines supported by the AFA. Each promoted violent self-policing, the primacy of working-class indivisibility, and the unabashed politicization of British football. Each endorsed violence in a staggering manner. In a question and answer interview with *Red*

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[49] *Marching Altogether* no. 5 (November 1989).

[50] Quoted in *Fighting Talk* no. 10 (undated, fall 1994?).

Atitude editors years later, one responded to a query on the success of removing racial abuse at Old Trafford by stating, "Quite simply because year after year we have out-violenced them."[51] The Manchester fanzine also took on the Football Supporters' Association for promoting a patronizing moral campaign that lacked political content and the practical benefits of physical intimidation. They turned their pens toward mocking and threatening FSA members who "do little beyond providing the odd clever quote for the media."[52] One satirical article compared the FSA's approach to racists in the terraces with that of *Red Attitude* readers. Five comparisons emphasized the necessity of violence when confronting racist spectators. Where the FSA member would report him to the nearest steward or policeman, *Red Attitude* readers "report him to the nearest Shining Path death squad for whom racism is an offence punishable by summary execution." Instead of pouring Bovril down his neck, "intentionally pour petrol down his neck and set fire to the bastard."[53] Another suggestion entailed disguising a meat pie as an explosive, shoving it into the racist's mouth: "The resulting explosion will hopefully start a trend to rival the firecrackers seen at etc. etc." Finally, while an FSA member would demand firm action from the club through a letter, the fanzine suggested RA readers, "follow the racist home, smash all his windows, burn down his house, kill him and all family and dance on their graves."[54] While such an article stressed satirical contrast, the violent

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[51] *Red Attitude* no. 12 (Spring 1997).

[52] *Red Attitude* no. 2 (October 1994).

[53] Bovril is a yeasty, beef broth often thinned and warmed, and taken to matches when the weather is poor.

[54] *Red Attitude* no. 2 (October 1994).

rhetoric still educated the reader on conduct during aggressive confrontations, even if overstated. Though intended to be humorous, the article revealed the violent imagination of anti-fascists and their high regard for intimidating self-policing passed on through the fanzine.

Marching Altogether, whose founding organization LFUARF had some ties with AFA, also exhibited extremely violent language and illustrations. National campaigns, other fanzines and anti-fascists widely lauded LFUARF for being the earliest and most successful anti-racist group in the north of England. Their language and illustrational comics proved extremely violent as well. One comic, 101 Things to Do With a Nazi Skin, facetiously advocated setting fire to racist fans, hanging them from the top of the stands on a meathook, and bashing him in the head with a hammer.[55] Another comic, Eric the Football Hooligan, typically satirized the stereotypical football supporter as over-excitable, stupid, and unnecessarily violent. However, when Eric confronted a man throwing a banana on the pitch, he punched his face. Eric's violent engagement was lauded here as bravery and courage, and the final frame narrated, "If you have a racist friend, now is the time for your friendship to end."[56] Certainly, the writers intended the high level of violent imagery as whimsical folly, but it also indicated a preference for creating a threatening environment, monitored and regulated by anti-racist fans.

Not all readers of the fanzine found the penchant for violence acceptable. Rex wrote in to tell how he found himself standing next to neo-fascist sympathizers who

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[55] The comic ran in several issues between 1990 and 1993. See *Marching Altogether* no. 9 (undated, fall 1990) for the first comic, originally titled "101 Things to Do with a Ku Klux Klansman."

[56] *Marching Altogether* no. 5 (November 1989).

racially abused players on the pitch. Describing himself as "completely powerless to do anything" as a minority voice in the terraces, he pined, "I know violence is a terrible thing but I feel VERY violent towards them, I am beginning to lose my temper now so I'd better sign off." Rex's ambivalence towards violence was rare in the pages of the fanzine, but showed that the pressures of non-violent propriety and the push for physical confrontation could often be at odds. His consideration of violence as a course of action revealed that masculine aggression contradicted the wider goals of sanitizing football. Rex's expressions exhibit how many spectators faced juxtaposing messages about how to make the sport respectable and enjoyable for all.

Other fanzines, especially those not directly affiliated with AFA, adopted a more tempered anti-fascist approach. An exchange in the fanzine *You Wot!* illustrated a beneficial and non-violent impulse in Torquay. The fanzine reprinted a letter from a BNP member who protested anti-racist activities at the club. His submission derided "scrounging immigrants" and "loony lefties" for invading the nation and not supporting native Britons. The editor responded, "I can understand you feeling that black people are taking jobs and houses away from the average white person. Many people do when they don't know the facts." He continued, "But remember, black people are not to blame for lack of investment in British industry which has caused so much unemployment. Neither are they to blame for the government freezing local council's funds for building affordable accommodation for rental or purchase." He finished his critique of British capitalism by emphasizing that black and migrant laborers faced the same challenges as white Britons. Class solidarity was the only way forward: "We need to work together as

a united front and not a divided one if we are to get investment to create jobs and funding to create housing for black and white as equals."[57] The response addressed each grievance individually, attempting to provide an explanatory and informative discussion for readers. As the quote revealed, anti-racism seeking to protect black players represented broader political issues debated by neo-fascists and anti-fascists. While *Our Day Will Come* certainly encouraged violent confrontation, they also exhibited, albeit infrequently, a penchant for educative debate rather than violence. One article proclaimed, "The 'easily swayed' racially prejudiced fans need to be talked to, argued with and confronted in a clear class-conscious manner which demolishes racist myths (they're taking our housing and jobs, Africa as the source of AIDS, etc.) and shown that racism must be tackled both because it is oppressive and because it divides and weakens the working class."[58] Clearly, anti-racist activism in football became productive of larger debates, allowing supporters to enact political discussions which addressed issues outside of the stadium. In this case, anti-fascists in football chose to create a platform to negate the origins of popular racisms, even if they assumed racial divisions to be derivative of the partition of working-class men.

Such expressions of restraint and cognizance of contextual politics were rare in the hotly-contested environment of British football during this era. Whereas the CRE attempted to continue football's reformation through media and education, anti-fascists, and many anti-racist associations which followed their lead, established violent

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[57] *You Wot!* no. 2 (September/October 1994).

[58] *Our Day Will Come* no. 10 (undated, fall 1991?).

confrontations and aggressive self-policing as the primary means of eliminating overt racisms. While they succeeded in diminishing the occurrence of specific anti-racist behaviors, such an emphasis often neglected the contextual and social origins of racial discrimination. With few exceptions, anti-fascists and anti-racists chose to combat racial difference with the threat of violence, limiting anti-racist politics to the confrontation of a moral enemy, the epitomized racist football supporter, who participated in a bounded repertoire of behaviors.

Conclusions

As the evidence shows, several interested parties—including government agencies, anti-racist associations, supporters' groups, and anti-fascist political factions—capitalized on the opportunity racism in football provided to politicize the football environment. Though all tackled racial abuse in football as a problem plaguing the sport and the industry, they did so with different motivations. By eliminating racial abuse from British football, many realized they could protect the sport, local clubs, spectator experiences, and the commercial business of British football. Therefore, British football became a cultural institution which generated discussions and debates about racial difference, racist conduct and anti-racist initiatives. These discussions created racist and anti-racist roles, and produced open conversations about race and British society by establishing what behaviors belonged to each position. Problematically, these discussions rarely provided a contextualized or historicized understanding of the constitution of racial difference, were often limited to discussing racist behavior against

black players, and failed to recognize the problems of postcolonial integration in a purportedly harmonious multicultural Britain. They also neglected to tackle other divisions of power which overlapped with the construction of racial difference, namely gendered exclusions and the involvement of women in football anti-racist enterprises. As British football became a site for education and dialogue about racisms and anti-racism in Britain, the forms anti-racism took adopted the legacy of using violence to promote social order. Just as the government promoted the use of violence, aggression, and opposition to rid British football of its violent participants, spectators implemented similar self-policing and violent initiatives to sanitize British football. In the end, both aimed to protect the sport and its representational image rather than the people involved in British football.

Conclusion- Legacies of Violence in British Football

Though I originally began this project seeking to better understand the social relationships which produced social outcasts in 1960s and 1970s Britain, the archival material revealed that a fundamental set of relationships lay outside interaction between groups of football supporters. The relationships between the state and working-class spectators conditioned the entire environment of football and its disorderly scourges of violence and racism. I realized that the history of football disorder demanded a comprehensive analysis of the state's violence against its own citizens in the social space of the football ground. The scholarly literature on the topic delved deep into questions of identity formation and the uses of feigned and actual aggression, but only rarely discussed the complex and contradictory governmental theatre of operations. While many speculated on the multiple motivations for individual and collective violence in football, the political uses of the 'football question' and how several government agencies responded to this aspect of social disruption remained ignored. This evidence revealed that the state unequivocally encouraged the construction of violent, oppositional, and aggressive environments through the long and haphazard process of British bureaucracy. Analyzing the entire web of social relationships defied any Manichean polarity between supporters and the state, and exposed how sport in postwar Britain represented broader conflicts about working-class instability, polarized dialogues about race and nation, and the imposition of social order through various implements of authority.

Examining this particular social arena also exposed how several groups of social actors politicized British sport and infused football with cultural significance. While many associate the re-emergence of law-and-order government with Thatcherism in the 1980s, the evidence here revealed that earlier Labour and Conservative administrations adopted the discursive power of law-and-order to attempt to institute discipline for young working-class men and generate political capital for themselves. Tories and Labour could agree that football disorder and those committing offenses should be purged from the sport to protect the profitability of the industry and the image of the nation. Government agencies under both parties attempted to do so through architectural, institutional and legal measures. The evidence revealed that despite promises for social provision and the reconstruction of working-class life in postwar Britain, Labour ministers in particular chose instead to institute law-and-order initiatives against football supporters who failed to exhibit proper forms of gentlemanly conduct. Denis Howell and other Labour leaders transferred anxieties about their inability to redress material inequalities to the cultural realm. The language of failed morality amongst young working-class men, the future of Britain and the Labour party, figured heavily in discourses about football and provided continuities with later Thatcherite agendas.

The salience of race in football also revealed problems with integration in postcolonial Britain. Football, like other sites of race dialogue in postwar Britain—immigration and citizenship conflicts, the Salman Rushdie affair, and urban riots—encouraged discourses about the viability of integration and multicultural societies. Successful black players came to represent broader social fissures outside the sport:

competition for jobs and housing, racial violence, and immigration debates. Both neo-fascists and anti-racists attempted to utilize football to deploy political messages about these issues to a broader audience. In many ways, both groups succeeded. Neo-fascists demonstrated and recruited with little consequence at football matches in the 1970s, and again in the early 1990s, infusing sport with political purpose. They also effectively created their own publicity through football activities, and exploited existing social networks among supporters to find new recruits. Anti-racists, on the other hand, developed anti-racist initiatives which reduced the incidence of overt racial abuse, but obscured the experiences of racism and neglected other forms of social exclusion. Together, these political factions developed a venue for the discussion of race in postcolonial Britain that became popularized and accessible to many citizens. In doing so, they narrowed social divisions about race to functions of class. Football provided a forum for discussions of race, immigration, and racism which could alienate some working-class men, but provided opportunities for political mobilization for others. Discussions of race and racism in football invited working-class men to debate topics which affected their livelihoods through the venue of sport, using black players as proxies for black and migrant laborers in postwar Britain. Cultural and social dialogues of race in football transcended the boundaries of the sport and blurred the lines between sport as microcosm and society as macrocosm, becoming productive of race debates as much as they reflected them. These discourses proceeded because they were limited to a finite social space, without posing challenges to unequal social distribution and problems with racial integration in British society.

Of course, the creation of two opposite and antithetical terms—racist and anti-racist—did not solely emerge in sporting environments. But the public and popular messages of racism and anti-racism in football have helped to create the myth of two distinctly discrete labels. These labels were determined by specific acts and codes of behavior, which reflected one's ideological and perhaps political position. Football has provided a platform for the creation of racist and anti-racist identities in Britain, even as it sets the parameters and connotations for each role. The creation of these positions has been a crucial by-product of the contest over black footballers and presence of racism within the game. Both terms have been oversimplified and reflected the reductive usage of race language within the game. Contemporary analysts and football activists justifiably feared that definitions of the 'racist' role encapsulated too narrow a cache of behaviors, focusing primarily on fascist 'folk devils' and ignoring the more complex racial antipathies generated by local football conflicts.[1] Outside of becoming a member of neo-fascist political factions, football supporters and clubs treaded familiar territory of shedding responsibility for building a sporting ethos where other forms of less overt racisms could be ignored. For instance, contemporary racisms within the game often concentrate on the influence of foreigners on the British style. Since some of these foreign players are not black, anti-foreign protests, such as the proposed rule to limit the number of foreign players on British league teams, are not recognized as racial in

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[1] Les Back, Tim Crabbe and John Solomos, *The Changing Face of Football: Racism, Identity and Multiculture in the English Game* (New York: Berg, 2001).

content.[2] The 'anti-racist' role also proved minimal: a supporter wore an anti-racist t-shirt or sticker, and refrained from racial chanting or abuse. Both roles deny understandings of the broader social conflicts reflected within race dialogues in sport, and fail to recognize the postcolonial significance of debates about race in football. Anti-racist discourses, and academic research, might begin to analyze manifestations of racism outside of neo-fascist demonstrations or monkey chants. Cultural and economic limitations on foreign players, and the treatment they receive from the press, players, coaches, and the public might prove fruitful in understanding other racial antipathies and how they reflect anxieties about migration in Europe. Anti-racists also polarized the spectating population, where many supporters failed to comprehend or knowingly participate in either role. Further, black players, their voices and experiences, have been removed from the racist/anti-racist battle. They became merely referents each role used to further its goals. As such, their silence and general lack of political involvement reflected their unwillingness to politicize sport and the more immediate demands of surviving within institutional football culture.[3] The creation of racist and anti-racist roles in football reflected the divergence of political attitudes, but also contributed to the obfuscation of racial and gendered exclusions within football and British society.

Recently, football anti-racist organizations have responded to calls for expanded social programs with aplomb. The inclusion of Asians became a primary form of

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[2] See ESPNSoccernet, 17 April 2008. Sepp Blatter, a Football League official, has attempted to institute limits on the number of foreign players on each British team.

[3] Colin King, *Offside Racism: Playing the White Man* (New York: Berg, 2004).

challenging the black/white dichotomy among players, and developed into a primary initiative within anti-racist organizations like *Football Unites, Racism Divides* (FURD) in Sheffield and *Kick It Out* (KIO), the national program now supported by the Professional Footballers Association (PFA), the FA Premier League, the Football Foundation and The Football Association. This initiative has been somewhat successful in challenging Asian exclusion on the grassroots level, though astute arguments against privileging Asians note that doing so categorizes individuals according to race and nationality, thus perpetuating the myth of universal difference.[4] More successful initiatives approach building new social relationships between young children of different cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Responding to new challenges in the twenty-first century, football ant-racist organizations have refined their programs. FURD does an excellent job of caring for children within their community, and infusing sports programs with more expansive anti-racist education that seeks not only to limit racism in sport, but also to provide pathways for cultural interaction and appreciation. KIO coordinates national and local programs, and responds to all accusations of racism within the game. Both organizations have formed international reputations, allying with organizations in continental countries to build Europe-wide alliances that promote awareness and exercise oversight of educational programs. These organizations, however, maintain their focus on behavioral forms of racism, only occasionally exhibiting broader considerations of the problems and challenges of postcolonial life and multiculturalism in Britain, much less broadening

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[4] See *ibid*, Chapter Six.

structural and institutional inequalities. This, in part, can be explained by their desire to remain politically neutral and continue to promote sport as an avenue for socialization.

Football environments, on the other hand, have changed very little since the imposition of CCTV and all-seated stadiums in the late 1980s. Several sports analysts have argued that these two innovations, which work together to promote easier regimentation of football supporters, also increase commercial benefits. Under the threat of continued surveillance and separated from one another, supporters now watch football in highly individualized and policed settings. These new environments have changed the ways in which working-class people experience football spectating. First, with the increase in ticket prices and bond schemes that accompanied all-seated stadiums, many lifelong supporters could no longer afford to go to as many matches as they did in the 1970s and 1980s. In general, throughout the 1990s, football became a sport consumed more often by middle class men and women who could afford the higher ticket costs.[5] Second, they continue to promote strict regulations and discipline in spectating. Seats limit fans' mobility to a designated space, whether they sit or not, and encourage them to avoid physical contact with other spectators. They also direct attention forward. As many supporters have noticed, the experience of spectating has become much more individual and restrained. After a match in 2007 at Old Trafford in Manchester, United manager Alex Ferguson criticized the team's supporters for failing to create 'atmosphere' at the home stadium. Colin Hendrie, Independent Manchester United Supporters'

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[5] See, for example, Tim Crabbe and Adam Brown, " 'You're Not Welcome Anymore,': The Football Crowd, Class and Social Exclusion," in Stephen Wagg ed., *British Football and Social Exclusion* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Association spokesman, took offense. “It's almost like a police state in a football ground now and if you do stand up, people will take your arm, put it behind the back of your neck and throw you out of the ground. Under those circumstances, what atmosphere does he want?”[6] Supporters recognize that contemporary football consumption occurs in disciplined environments under surveillance and the threat of personal prosecution.

All of these contemporary experiences are informed by the legacies of state intervention into British professional football. Violence and racism have been challenged as moral evils, but continue to be structured by the consumption and regulation of the sport. In the future, both the ability to utilize sport’s popularity to disseminate effective anti-racist and non-violent messages will depend on supporters’ willingness to imagine richer and more contextualized understandings and remedies for exclusionary social relationships outside the sport. Effective anti-racist politics must avoid oversimplification and aggression, instead opting for research into the cultural, social and material origins of racial and gendered exclusions, as well as outbreaks of social violence. In addition, politicians and historians must recognize the allure of sports and how citizens participate in sports consumption to exercise political choices and generate discussions of nationhood and belonging, in addition to creating communal and personal identities. Interrogating the imagined division between sports and society will lead to better understandings of how social exclusion and social violence come to occur in local

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[6] ESPNSoccernet, 2 January 2008.

settings, as well as their origins in broader social fissures and historical, postcolonial relationships.

Appendix

Timeline of Major Football Disasters, Legislation and Government Inquiries

- 1967-8 Harrington Report submitted to Dennis Howell, Department of the Environment. The Harrington commission was the first state-sponsored research into football crowd disorder. Harrington, a research professor at Birmingham University, conducted his research by surveying police from several constabularies in Scotland and England.

- 1968, Chester Report. Sir Norman Chester's investigation into industrial relations in football. Topics of the investigation included player contracts, player discipline, relationships between clubs and players, and player transfer arrangements.

- 1968-9 Lang Report submitted to Dennis Howell, Department of the Environment. The Lang Commission conducted research into the problem of crowd violence by interviewing clubs, police associations, football officials, and other interested bodies.

- 2 January 1971 Ibrox Disaster- A stairwell collapsed at Ibrox Stadium in Glasgow, leaving 66 dead and several hundred injured. The disaster sparked new government investigations into stadium architecture, crowd control, and safety.

- June 1971 Winterbottom Report submitted to Eldon Griffiths, Conservative Secretary of Department of the Environment. The report was never published because Griffiths wanted Lord Wheatley to be able to see the results and incorporate them into his own investigation.

- 1972 Wheatley Report, first Green Guide published. Wheatley's report and first recommendations constituted new directives for stadium architecture, ingress and egress, crowd safety and control, and recommendations against crowd disorder. The Green Guide later became the set of regulations and mandates club owners needed to adhere to in order to pass local inspections.

- 1973-1975, Readings of Safety at Sports Grounds Bill (two rounds). The Bill passed through two main readings, once under Edward Heath's Conservative

administration and once under Harold Wilson's Labour administration, where it finally passed. Dennis Howell introduced and pushed the Bill to completion.

- 1978, McElhone Report published. Report of Scottish Education Department into Scottish fan disorder in football.

- 1984, MacFarlane Report published, Department of the Environment. Official Working Group investigation into football spectator violence. Conducted in response to a number of violent incidents in the 1983/84 season in Britain.

- 11 May 1985, Bradford City stadium fire. A stand at Valley Stadium in Bradford caught fire, resulting in 56 deaths and several hundred injuries. The disaster sparked the Popplewell investigation. Liverpool were banned from European competition for six years, other English football clubs for five years.

- 29 May 1985, Heysel Stadium disaster. The 1985 European Cup final between Juventus and Liverpool F.C. resulted in massive overcrowding and crowd problems at Heysel stadium in Brussels. A wall collapsed as fans of both clubs violently attacked one another, resulting in 39 deaths.

- 1985- Popplewell Report published. The Popplewell commission, ordered by Margaret Thatcher, aimed to address the causes of football disasters in 1985. It resulted in a revised series of recommendations for crowd control and changes to stadium construction.

- 1989 Hillsborough stadium disaster. In Sheffield, 96 Liverpool F.C. supporters died by crushing when crowd pressures and crowd violence occurred within segregated fan enclosures. The disaster resulted in the government commission of the Taylor Report.

- 1989, Taylor Report published. Lord Justice Taylor conducted a widespread investigation into the Hillsborough disaster and crowd control generally. The resulting report called for a number of changes, the most prominent being the mandated introduction of all-seated stadiums to all football clubs in the next decade.

- 1989 Football Spectators Act. This act specified a number of illegal activities for football crowds, including racial chanting. It also included provisions for removing the privilege of some spectators to travel abroad for European matches, depending on their previous conduct.

- 1991 Football (Offences) Act. This act specified racial chanting in unison, along with throwing missiles and other minor transgressions as arrestable offences.

- 1993, CRE-PFA *Let's Kick Racism Out of Football* campaign launched. The campaign underwent several changes in subsequent years, and is now called *Kick It Out!*

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